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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Last Word

By Senator William E. Borah

A Church-Made War with Japan?

By Kenneth Scott Latourette

Coughlin and the Christian Front

An Editorial

Can Belgium Stay Neutral?

By E. D. Chase

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In This Issue

E. D. CHASE

is an American business man, a graduate of the school of business administration of Harvard University, who is now doing journalistic work in Belgium. As will be seen from the date line, Mr. Chase's article was mailed from Brussels before the recent intensification of the crisis in that country. But the problem with which it deals has been increased rather than minimized by the general mobilization of the Belgian army.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

is professor of missions and Oriental history in the divinity school of Yale University. After serving as traveling secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement, Dr. Latourette became a member of the faculty of the College of Yale in China. From there he returned to Reed College, Portland, Ore., and then was for a time at Denison University, Granville, Ohio, before going to Yale. He is the author of many books dealing with Christian missions and with American relations in the Far East, and is advisory editor of the *International Review of Missions*. Dr. Latourette is just bringing to a close his monumental *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, of which three volumes have now been issued.

ANTON T. BOISEN

is a member of the faculty of Chicago Theological Seminary and chaplain of the Elgin, Ill., State Hospital. Dr. Boisen is nationally known for his book, *The Exploration of the Inner World*.

Coming

Albert Viton, whose studies of developments in the Near East have been eagerly awaited by readers of The Christian Century, will contribute "India on the Eve," a study of the situation in Britain's largest colony.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

January 31, 1940

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Calendar of Coming Events

Jan. 22-Feb. 17. School for Missionaries, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Jan. 31. Baptist Convocation on Mission of the Church in a Distressed World, Newark, N. J.
Feb. 1. Baptist Convocation on Mission of the Church in a Distressed World, Worcester, Mass.
Feb. 1. Baptist Convocation on Mission of the Church in a Distressed World, Trenton, N. J.
Feb. 1. Fourth National Social Hygiene Day.
Feb. 2. Baptist Convocation on Mission of the Church in a Distressed World, Springfield, Mass.
Feb. 2. Baptist Convocation on Mission of the Church in a Distressed World, Haddonfield, N. J.
Feb. 2. Methodist Advance Meeting, Chicago, Ill.
Feb. 4. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Paul Scherer, speaker.
Feb. 4. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Harry Gideonse-T. V. Smith symposium.
Feb. 4. Sunday Evening Forum, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; Kirby Page, speaker.
Feb. 4. Lutheran Pre-Lent Rally Service, University of Chicago Chapel.
Feb. 4-10. Annual Meeting, International Council of Religious Education, Hotel Stevens, Chicago.
Feb. 5. Methodist Advance Meeting, Little Rock, Ark.
Feb. 5. Methodist Advance Meeting, Richmond, Va.
Feb. 5. Methodist Advance Meeting, Watertown, N. Y.
Feb. 5-7. Iowa Baptist Pastors' Convocation, Des Moines.
Feb. 5-7. Tennessee Pastors' Institute, Nashville.
Feb. 6. Methodist Advance Meeting, Dallas, Tex.
Feb. 6. Methodist Advance Meeting, Raleigh, N. C.
Feb. 6. Baptist Convocation on Mission of the Church in a Distressed World, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Feb. 6. Methodist Advance Meeting, Rochester, N. Y.
Feb. 6, 7. Texas Ministers' Fellowship, San Antonio.
Feb. 7. Methodist Advance Meeting, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Feb. 7. Methodist Advance Meeting, Albany, N. Y.
Feb. 7. Methodist Advance Meeting, Winston-Salem, N. C.
Feb. 8. Methodist Advance Meeting, Ft. Worth, Tex.
Feb. 8. Methodist Advance Meeting, Syracuse, N. Y.
Feb. 9. World Day of Prayer.
Feb. 9. Rectorial Address, University of Dubuque, Thomas Mann.
Feb. 9, 10. Rural Missions Conference, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Feb. 9-12. American Youth Congress, Washington, D. C.
Feb. 11. Missionaries' Retreat, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Feb. 11. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; special Lincoln program.
Feb. 11. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jay Allen, speaker.
Feb. 11. Race Relations Sunday.
Feb. 16-18. Annual Youth Conference, State Council of Churches, Buffalo, N. Y.
Feb. 19. Installation President McGiffert, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
Feb. 20. Pastoral Conference and Earl Lectures, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.
Feb. 26, 27. Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, Buffalo, N. Y.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

ONCE MORE, the sober second thought of the country seems to be catching up with an initial emotional outburst. Outraged by Russia's invasion of Finland, all sorts of proposals were made to Congress for aid for that gallant nation. The principal bill, sponsored by Senator Brown of Michigan, calls for a $60,000,000 loan from the United States government. Congress, however, is noticeably cooling down, undoubtedly because it is hearing from the country. Three factors are proving especially potent in influencing public opinion. First, since Congress has just adopted a cash-and-carry policy to keep this country out of war, there is grave reluctance to abandon it in the case of the first war to break out after its adoption. Second, the widespread belief that the Finnish war will soon become part of a general European war makes hosts of Americans apprehensive lest intervention in Finland prove to be a side-door entrance into a war which few Americans want to get into. Third, many find it hard to understand why the United States should be expected to finance Finland's munitions requirements at a time when Great Britain has an estimated five billions of unused credits lying idle in this country, and while the Allies make a $340,000,000 loan to an uninvaded Turkey. There is no opposition to personal gifts by American citizens to Finland, and little to supplying food and medical aid. But beyond that American opinion is not prepared to go.

Congress Ponders Loans To Finland

Germans Bring 'Jim Crow' Cars to Warsaw

THOSE pagan nazis! Their latest move to show contempt for the principles of Christian civilization is to introduce "Jim Crow" street cars into helpless Warsaw. According to the *Warschauer Zeitung,* if a dispatch to the *New York Times* is to be believed, Germans will hereafter ride in one part of the street cars in the former Polish capital, while Poles and Jews will be herded by themselves. Nazi racial theories are, of course, responsible for this, since part of the justification for the German conquest has rested on the allegation that Poles are members of an inferior race, and what the nazis think of the Jews needs no recounting. But, claims the Warsaw paper, this segregation is also demanded for hygienic reasons. The prevalence of contagious diseases among these inferior people makes it essential that pure-blooded Germans have as little as possible to do with them. Hence, "Jim Crow." What claim to the respect of decent people, let alone of those who believe in the Christian concept of the individual's worth, can a nation expect which resorts to such measures? What more proof is needed of the essentially anti-Christian nature of nazi ideology? . . . Or might there be some other comment made by American moralists?

Some British Churchmen Find Economic Warfare Odious

THE BISHOP of Birmingham, Dr. Barnes, doubtless expressed the sentiment of many minds besides his own when, in the convocation of Canterbury, he moved to request the archbishop to "petition the government so to adjust the blockade as to allow the free importation of foodstuffs into Germany in accordance with the precept, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him.'" This is only one of many texts that present exegetical and practical difficulties in time of war. Dr. Barnes explained that he knew some foodstuffs could be converted into munitions and realized that these must be kept from the enemy so far as possible, but he thought there must surely be some foods that could not be used thus, and to Christian people the starvation of the enemy, especially women and children, is a horrible thought. The archbishop was sympathetic but firmly opposed to such concessions, and that on two grounds: first, that the government had informed him that no such selective blockade was practicable; and second, that Germany had made her choice between butter and guns, had deliberately accepted a lowered standard of living as the price of preparation for war, and had no one to blame but herself if by precipitating actual war she had reduced that standard still lower. Besides, official German utterances claim that the nation has plenty

of food. Dr. Barnes withdrew his motion with the generous comment that there was no real difference of opinion between them on the basic moral question. Perhaps there is not. But the attitudes expressed show that the Archbishop of Canterbury is more ready to accept the proposition recently stated in a famous British news-letter, that the strategy in the present war must be: first, to make the war as painful as possible for the enemy population; and second, to hold before them the promise of a peace under conditions more desirable than the sufferings or the possible gains of war. This is an exact restatement of Sherman's thesis. Nevertheless, making a war "painful" for the people of an entire nation, women and children included, is a grewsome business at which the Christian conscience may well stand aghast. Perhaps something of this sort was in the mind of the Archbishop of York when he lately said that, while this is a "righteous war" from the British standpoint, it cannot be called a "holy war."

German Churches Enjoy Relative Quiet

SINCE the European war became an actual fact, less has been heard of the tension between the German churches and the government than for many months, or even years, preceding. This may be partly because of a general embargo upon news from Germany. (Correspondents were even forbidden to send out weather reports concerning a recent cold snap in Berlin.) But it is also doubtless due in still larger measure to the turning of the church toward a more exclusive emphasis upon the cultivation of the inner life, and to that tendency toward a more patriotic attitude which always prevails in churches as in all other organizations when a nation is at war. So far as the latter tendency exists, it seems not to have prevented a reaction by both German clergy and laity against a certain type of "war sermon" which is normally to be expected at such a time and of which we certainly had plenty during the World War. Sentences such as the following from printed sermons and articles in church publications indicate that many pastors and laymen refuse to speak the language of Mars even in martial days: "Evangelical faith knows no crusades, no wars for the cause of the Kingdom of God." "If the foundation of the cross is taken away from us, then the sermon issues in a mere faith in an external Providence." Reports claim that there is a vast increase in the practice of private and family devotions and in the meeting of neighborhood groups for prayer and Bible reading. The increased activity of laymen in these services is particularly stressed, a fact necessitated by the absence of many pastors from their fields for army duty. This withdrawal to an inner world of spirituality and the identification of religion with the cultivation of a "devotional life" is not a complete solution of the problem which confronts religion in a warring nation, but it might be expected at least to ease the tension between the church and the government. But the government, it seems, is not quite satisfied by the church's return to pietism. It wants the church to be not merely neutral but active in support of the government's policies. Semi-official attacks have been made on many pastors for their lukewarmness toward the war. That also can be understood by those of us who have memories that go back twenty years.

How Gandhi Would Meet the War

THERE is a sufficient indication of the censorship which blankets India in the fact that, to get an authoritative expression of Gandhi's views on the war, we have to rely on a quotation in *Asia* from a letter by Richard B. Gregg who is able to quote a single page torn from an issue of Gandhi's paper, *Harijan,* which someone has managed to smuggle out of India in a private letter. In this article, which reaches us in this roundabout fashion, Gandhi answers four searching questions as to his relation to the war. The most important (apart from his declaration that he could not act as a "self-appointed recruiting sergeant" in this war as he did in the last) is his answer to the fourth: What is your concrete plan based on non-violence to oppose or prevent this war? "I have no ready-made concrete plan," Gandhi answered. "For me too this is a new field. Only I have no choice as to the means. It must always be purely non-violent, whether I am closeted with the members of the working committee or with the viceroy. Therefore what I am doing is itself part of the concrete plan. More will be revealed to me from day to day, as all my plans always have been. . . . But assuming that God had endowed me with full powers (which he never does), I would at once ask the English to lay down arms, free all their vassals, take pride in being called 'Little Englanders' and defy all the totalitarians of the world to do their worst. Englishmen will then die unresistingly and go down in history as heroes of non-violence. I would further invite Indians to cooperate with Englishmen in this godly martyrdom. It will be an indissoluble partnership drawn up in letters of the blood of their own bodies, not of their so-called enemies. But I have no such general power. Non-violence is a plant of slow growth. It grows imperceptibly but surely. And even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must act in obedience to 'the still small voice.' "

Pope Welcomes President's Collaboration for Peace

IN REPLY to President Roosevelt's Christmas Eve letter and in acknowledgment of his appointment of Myron C. Taylor as his "personal representative with the rank of ambassador," Pope Pius XII has sent a cordial and appreciative response. He welcomes this "exemplary act of fraternal and hearty solidarity between the New and the Old World in defense against the chilling breath of aggressive and deadly godless and anti-Christian tendencies. . . ." Confessing that he does not see that anything can be done at present toward bringing peace, he stresses the desire for peace in the heart of the common man in every land and speaks particularly of the requisite conditions for the establishment of a true and sound peace "when that day dawns on which the roar of battle will lapse into silence." Evidently his mind is directed rather to consideration of the terms on which peace shall be made when the war is over than to ways and means of

bringing about a cessation of hostilities. In the making of such a peace, "only he will be able to discern the path that should be followed who unites with high political power a clear understanding of the voice of humanity along with a sincere reverence for the divine precepts of life as found in the gospel of Christ." History shows only too well that exhortations about the establishment of the political and social order on the divine precepts of Christ do not always mean the same thing to the pope who utters them and to those to whom they are addressed. For him, there is only one supreme interpreter of the precepts of Christ. "As vicar on earth of the Prince of Peace," he continues, "from the first days of our pontificate we have dedicated our efforts and our solicitude to the purpose of maintaining peace, and afterward of reestablishing it." The news report for example in the *New York Times,* says that "the pope put a stop to talk that Myron C. Taylor . . . was regarded at the Vatican as a fully accredited envoy." The text does not support that conclusion. The next day the roster of diplomatic representatives at the Vatican was published, including the name of Mr. Taylor separated from the others by a thin line—for whatever that may be worth.

Another Document on America's Relation to the War

ATTENTION is called to the declaration of thirty-two church leaders on the international situation which appears on page 152 of this issue. Both the substance of this statement and the list of distinguished names signed to it invite respectful consideration. The covering letter which accompanied this communication expressed the idea that "the religious press in general, including The Christian Century, represent other convictions than those expressed in this document." On the contrary, we are of the opinion that the religious press in general, including The Christian Century, will heartily endorse the affirmative portion of the document, withholding approval only from the second paragraph which defines the position with which the signers place their own in contrast. There are few if any among those who "are regarded as spokesmen for the churches" who hold that "Christians in neutral nations should not discriminate among belligerents" or who "ignore the reality of relative but important distinctions between the contending parties." If there has been any disposition on the part of any Christian leaders or religious editors to "equate what the soviet republics are doing in Finland and what the Finns are doing to defend their liberties," we have not heard of it. The condemnation for those who see in the war a "clash of rival imperialisms" is largely verbal, as this document recognizes that "in the present conflicts all nations are moved largely by national self-interest"—which is to say the same thing in different language. That the outcome of the present wars is important, that victories for the autocratic and aggressive powers would entail deplorable consequences for human welfare, liberty, civilization and religion throughout the world, and that Christians must recognize the moral distinction between regimes that make for peace and freedom and those that make for violence and tyranny, even when national self-interests are also involved in the struggle, are affirmations with which there is and ought to be general agreement. Certainly those truths have received reiterated emphasis in these columns. If the framers and signers of this statement have in mind something that goes beyond this—some specific national policy of participation in the armed struggles now in progress, or some governmental avowal of adherence to one side—the purpose should be clearly defined.

Teamsters' Leader Calls For Labor Unity

DANIEL J. TOBIN is not likely to increase his popularity with other leaders of the A.F. of L. by his call for a rank-and-file revolt to force peace between the federation and the C.I.O. But the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has told the unvarnished truth about the situation inside organized labor, and his justified prophecies as to the effect which this situation will eventually have on labor legislation will register with thoughtful members of local unions. Mr. Tobin's attack on the present policies of his fellow labor leaders is published as an editorial in the current issue of the *Teamsters' Monthly Journal.* He argues that the Wagner labor act—"the greatest piece of progressive, liberal legislation ever enacted in behalf of labor"—is in grave danger, largely because of complaints made against it by the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. Ninety-five per cent of these complaints, he charges, have grown directly out of disputes connected with the split between the two labor bodies. Unless the two get together, reactionary forces will use these labor complaints as justification to eviscerate the act as soon as the coming election is over. "You ask me what's the answer," Mr. Tobin writes, "and I say the answer is that the rank and file everywhere rise up and demand, by public expressions, mass meetings and by resolutions and declarations, that the committees representing both sides get together and settle this trouble one way or another. Neither side has to sacrifice very much in order to bring about a settlement. Less than one dozen men on both sides are responsible for the division of 8,000,000 workers. Let the workers ask themselves why 8,000,000 organized workers allow a few men to keep them separated in two or three rival organizations." Will the workers follow Mr. Tobin's advice? It is not likely. Labor leadership has a way of instilling deep fear in those who toy with the idea of rank-and-file movements.

New Catholic Bishop of the Army and Navy Diocese

NOTRE DAME University may be best known to many millions as the home of a great football team, commonly known as "the Irish" though Polish names not infrequently prevail. It is all of that, but more. It is a great institution of learning and it always has an able educator at its head. It was therefore doubly significant when the president of Notre Dame, Rev. John F. O'Hara, was recently consecrated as Titular Bishop of Milasa and Auxiliary Bishop of the "Army and Navy Diocese." The latter part of that new dignity is the important part. It is a reminder that the Roman Catholic Church, taking

seriously the duty of ministering spiritually to the men in both branches of the armed service, has constituted them a diocese and given them a bishop. That is a praiseworthy example upon which Protestants might profitably reflect. The Christian Century has taken the ground that care for the religious welfare of the men in the army and navy is a responsibility which devolves upon the churches, not upon the government. It has said that the existence of a military chaplaincy with "rank, pay and allowances" bestowed by the government and owing obedience to its superior officers in the army and navy constitutes an odious and objectionable alliance of church and state. The remedy is not to do away with the chaplaincy, for the services of chaplains are urgently needed, but to demilitarize it. Now the Roman Catholics have not done that, and probably they would be the last to consent to have their chaplains taken off the federal payroll and deprived of the rank and status of officers. They are not specially sensitive about alliances of church and state. But they see clearly that, whatever may be the allegiance of the chaplains to their superior military and naval officers, they have also another allegiance. The Roman Catholic way of expressing that is to put a bishop over them. This bishop is a member of the hierarchy, a civilian, not an army or navy man. He represents the church's investment of influence, spiritual leadership and cash in religious service to the soldiers and sailors. Perhaps that does not go very far toward realizing the ideal of an independent, nonmilitary chaplaincy, but it goes a long way farther than any Protestant body has yet gone.

Coughlin and the Christian Front

SEVENTEEN young men, members of the so-called "Christian Front," are under arrest on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States by violence. They had, it is alleged, accumulated arms, ammunition and explosives and were prepared to seize key industries, utilities and public buildings and, intimidating all who offered resistance by a few well placed bombs, make themselves and their organization the masters of the country. It sounds fantastic, and of course it is fantastic. The *New Republic* cleverly and aptly calls it "the Brooklyn beer hall putsch." Hitler's first bid for power was fantastic too, at the time. The fact that the feeble and fanatical band of Munich fascists were the advance guard of a nazi horde that was to dominate Germany and threaten the world does not prove that every strong-arm squad with a slogan can develop into a conquering army.

The seventeen Christian Fronters whose rash attempt was frustrated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation were never really very dangerous. Since the G-men stopped them without a struggle, it does not appear that they would have had much of a chance against the army and navy. They might have done considerable damage and destroyed several lives. There was danger of a serious breach of the peace, but no danger of the overthrow of the government. If the facts are as they now appear to be and if the charges are sustained in court, the would-be revolutionaries should receive punishment sufficient to restrain them and warn others, but the F.B.I. will be well advised if it does not devote too large a share of its energies to following up this lead. If there are trails leading to the lairs of other bands of bombers or to other caches of munitions in readiness for a coup, of course they should be smoked out. These little squads of amateur terrorists are by no means negligible. They should be calmly but firmly picked up by the scruff of the neck and deposited in a cool safe place.

But these direct-action boys are only the lunatic fringe of a much larger company which, under pretense of opposing communism, promoting "Americanism" and upholding Christianity, are systematically sabotaging both Christianity and Americanism by encouraging violence and hatred and by attacks upon the civil rights of citizens. To some extent they are also the dupes of the leaders of the movement—of the "Christian Front," to be specific—who have preached violence violently and hatred venomously, who have urged the organization of companies of armed and drilled men ready to act when the hour strikes, and who now scuttle to cover and disavow responsibility when one of their little bands is caught with weapons in its hands.

The reference is, of course, quite definitely to Father Charles E. Coughlin. Promptly after the arrest of the seventeen alleged conspirators of the "Christian Front" and of John Cassidy, its head, Coughlin hastened to declare that he had no connection with the movement, that he did not approve it, that he "roundly disavowed" it. He admits that he encouraged the formation of *a* Christian Front, but not this Christian Front.

It is quite possible that one might desire to see *a* Christian front arise in America, as most earnest Christians certainly do, without wishing to see Mr. Cassidy's kind of "Christian Front" undertake the task of regulating the country by the irresponsible use of violence. But can Coughlin claim the benefit of that distinction? He cannot. He has been hand-in-glove with Cassidy's "Christian Front" since its organization. He has drummed up its membership through the columns of his *Social Justice*. No longer ago than last July he headlined the news that "Christian Front Carries the Fight into More States." In the same month Philadelphia papers carried reports of a rally in that city which Coughlin addressed for an hour (by wire) urging adherence to the Christian Front, while at the same time an overflow meeting was addressed by John Cassidy, "head of the Christian Front in America."

Cassidy's "Christian Front" furnished the storm troopers for Coughlin's campaign for street sales of *Social Justice* in New York last year—a campaign which included insults to Jews, physical attacks upon them and the enlistment of police support for a program of shocking violence. (For details, see the article by Alson Smith in The Christian Century for August 12, 1939.) Coughlin did not disavow this Christian Front then. It was at that time that the Jesuit weekly, *America*, declared that whoever attacks Father Coughlin attacks the Catholic Church—but few Catholics and fewer Protestants ever believed that.

Coughlin's *Social Justice* for July 31, 1939, reported

with enthusiasm the emergence of "a highly organized and militant Christian Front . . . taking concrete form in the eastern states," which "is marching forward to a predicted membership of five millions in 1940 . . . organized along militant lines . . . spreading from Greater New York into Philadelphia, Boston and other eastern centers. . . . Invasion of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago and other key cities of the middle west will begin in August. . . . Under the leadership of Mr. John F. Cassidy of Brooklyn there are now. . . ." As late as its issue of January 1, 1940, *Social Justice,* in appealing for money to support the broadcasts, said: "Father Coughlin is only the spokesman for a rapidly forming and tremendously powerful element of our country—the Christian Front." Didn't "*the* Christian Front" have a sufficiently definite meaning by that time?

In the light of this documentation—and dozens of other citations could be made—will Coughlin have the brazen effrontery to say that he never approved this particular "Christian Front" but just the general idea of *a* Christian front?

In what respects, if at all, does the "Christian Front" that is now on the carpet differ from the program that Coughlin has been promoting? It does not differ at all. To put their best point first, both are anti-communist. Beyond that, both rely on fascist methods for the defeat of communism. Both urge the organization of militant bands of armed and drilled men in readiness to "meet the emergency"—but far more likely to precipitate one. Both are anti-Semitic. Coughlin went on republishing the infamous libels of the discredited "Protocols" after everybody in the world with any intelligence, himself included, knew that they were forgeries, and the Christian Fronters in New York made the beating up of Jews a routine part of their sales promotion campaign for *Social Justice.*

Coughlin cannot now evade responsibility for the doings of John Cassidy's "Christian Front." It is his baby. But the important thing is not the toy rebellion in Brooklyn. It doesn't require giant powder to blow up that kind of revolutionary junta; insect powder is enough. The indiscreet seventeen were lured out on a limb by the promotional power of their irresponsible leaders and their own misguided enthusiasm for the "cause." But back of them lies a great body of undisciplined and loose-thinking humanity, a host of people—nobody knows how many tens of thousands—neither vicious nor criminal by intention, easily stirred by the words of a demagogue and already more than half-persuaded that lawless violence and racial hatred are instruments by which good ends may be attained for themselves and for the country.

These people are at once a great asset to society and a great peril to it. They mean so well, they think so clumsily, and they follow so blindly. Their leaders too are potential assets as well as present perils. Coughlin has it in him to be a great man. So perhaps has Cassidy, though the evidence is not so clear in his case. Coughlin does seem at times to want social justice, and his ideas are not all as wrong as those about the Jews and about the organization of a fighting force of ostensible "Christians" to save the republic from the Jews and communists.

The country does need *a* Christian front—but not the kind that organizes on military lines under irresponsible leadership, like a gigantic vigilance committee, to enforce its leaders' conception of a better social order. It needs social justice—but not the sort that excludes any race from its embrace, or fans class hatred into flame to furnish the heat of its enthusiasm.

As the matter stands today, the so-called "Christian Front" and Coughlin are two names for the same thing, in spite of the priest's prudential disavowal, and together they are an anti-democratic and anti-Christian force vastly more dangerous than the little revolution that exploded prematurely in Brooklyn.

Senator Borah

THE NATION is still struggling to adjust itself to the shock of Senator Borah's sudden death. Nothing had prepared it for the possibility that it might have to pass through the crisis created by another European war without the counsel of the man who had been for more than two decades the outstanding figure in the Senate. Had he lived until the expiration of this, his sixth, term he might not have been able to control the development of national policy. The defeat which he suffered when the arms embargo was repealed on the outbreak of the war showed that his power at Washington was not what it once had been. But in legislative victory or defeat, the country would have felt more secure in its leadership had it known that the "lion of Idaho" was in his accustomed place on the Senate floor. American political leadership is infinitely weakened by his passing.

In a sense, Senator Borah's remarkable position in national and international affairs was something of an accident. His career in Idaho was an accident. Illinois born and Kansas educated, he tried to make a living as a lawyer in a little town in the latter state until he became convinced that there was no future for him there. Then in the very year in which Professor Turner was later to discover that the frontier closed, he did the thing which thousands of ambitious young Americans had done before him. He started west. He went westward until his funds gave out—and that made him a citizen of Idaho!

When he entered the Senate, again the accident that he represented a frontier state made it possible for him to concentrate his attention on large national issues. While his colleagues from the highly industrialized states of the Atlantic seaboard and the middle west were spending their time tending to the interests of the clamorous constituents who filled their offices, Borah had leisure to study the nation's problems in the large. It is almost unthinkable that such a man could ever have been elected to the Senate from a settled state with its tightly geared political machine, and equally unthinkable, had he been so elected, that he would have been allowed opportunity to become an international statesman.

It was his leadership in the fight to block ratification of the Treaty of Versailles which gave him his commanding position. Up to that point in his career he had been simply one among a number of agrarian liberal senators, friendly to the Theodore Roosevelt brand of domestic progressivism but still ready to maintain party ties while

men like Hiram Johnson and the elder La Follette and even Albert J. Beveridge broke them. He was for easy money; he was against monopolies; he lashed at Wall Street and called for strict enforcement of anti-trust legislation. His was, in other words, the progressivism of the prairies—a progressivism for which generations of populists and greenbackers and free soilers had prepared the way.

But the fight in the Senate which kept the United States out of the League of Nations changed both his stature and his position in public life overnight. He became, as no other Americans of his time except Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, an international figure. Once, about a decade ago, a little group of Americans reached a border railway station in northern Russia. It was at a time when, for unexplained reasons, the secret police were subjecting the baggage and even the personal clothing of incoming travelers to minute and exasperating examination. The Americans were brusquely ordered to prepare for the ordeal, but as they were lining up for inspection one of them produced a letter which bore a magic signature. "Senator Borah!" With bows and smiles the party was ushered back on the train and sent on its way, its luggage unopened. It was a common saying at the time that a letter from the Idaho senator was worth more than an American passport anywhere in Europe.

Some will say that Senator Borah lacked constructive talent as a statesman. Not a single piece of important legislation bearing his name has been left behind. But there are times when opposition is in itself constructive; the welfare of the nation is as truly served by keeping the national life from flowing into wrong channels as by digging new courses. It will be said, also, that he did not always follow through on issues after he had taken an initial position. Perhaps that was one reason why he never was a serious contender for the presidency; he had no stomach for the intricate and long-continued negotiations involved in seeking the votes of delegates to a nominating convention. But he never was a crusader, except for immediate objectives.

He was an independent, an utter independent. He got his political philosophy from American sources, Jeffersonian sources, and he applied it with consistency and without regard to its effect on his party's program or his own political fortunes. Much of the time he did not even bother to attend his party's caucus in the Senate; when he did so it was never with the assumption that he would be bound by its decisions. Someone once called him a one-man party, and the characterization was apt. He had his followers, and there were times when there were enough of them to fix the international policy of the United States. But he never attempted to enlist them for longer than the issue immediately under consideration was to be dealt with; when that had been disposed of he resumed full freedom of future action and never dreamed that others likewise should not go free.

Much is being made, in the estimates of his career, of his distinction as a constitutional lawyer. He believed in the political wisdom of the federal Constitution with a passionate belief; he had soaked himself in it. And he regarded the Bill of Rights as the ultimate bulwark of American democracy. He looked at America and American problems from the standpoint of the Bill of Rights. It was no accident, therefore, that the last words which fell from his lips in the Senate—words which will be found reproduced in this issue—carried an appeal to the principles of that document, even though he had no warning that they were to be his final utterance. He sought always to keep the channels of democratic action in behalf of human freedom open. That placed him in opposition to concentrations of power, whether that might be the financial power of Wall Street or the bureaucratic power of a centralized government or the autocratic power of a military and naval establishment.

This same devotion to human freedom and fear of concentrated power lay beneath his acts in the field of foreign policy. After he had led the Senate in defeating American entrance into the League of Nations, he was labeled an isolationist for the rest of his life. But the ground of his isolationism on that issue was his fear that, under the "sanctions" articles of the covenant, the league would become a concentration of power in the hands of one bloc of nations to be wielded for the subjugation or punishment of nations outside the dominant bloc. He was insistent that the United States should have no part in such a scheme for the indefinite perpetuation of the Old World status quo, and in that we have always believed his judgment correct. On the issue of American participation in the world court The Christian Century did not see eye to eye with him. But we realized that the basis of his opposition was fear that the court was an instrument of political power rather than an arbiter of justice. On the evidence of its verdicts—notably that which blocked the Austrian *anschluss* with republican Germany—who can be sure that his view was mistaken?

But Senator Borah was no isolationist when he thought he saw a chance to break into the welter of international power politics in such a manner as to add to the world's total of human freedom. Thus it was the senator from Idaho, more than any other man, who brought to pass the disarmament conference of 1921 and, even for a brief period, lifted the crushing burdens of militarism off the backs of Europe's exploited millions and gave the young Chinese republic a breathing spell in which to develop its strength. And again it was Senator Borah who grasped the idea of the outlawry of war, after it had been proposed by its originator, Salmon O. Levinson, and developed the tentative advances of M. Briand into the multilateral Pact of Paris which, flouted today, may yet become the foundation for a true system of international law in some now unforeseeable future. It was this readiness to go to all lengths to increase the measure of human freedom—in this case freedom from the weight of militarism—which made him ready to lead in international negotiations for war's outlawry, while he maintained unbending opposition to specious schemes for "collective security" which he was convinced were no more than disguised efforts to employ the strength of the United States to maintain an inherently unstable and unjust balance of power.

As he passes from the scene tribute is showered on Senator Borah for his independence. That is fitting, yet it is permissible to wonder whether he would himself have so regarded it. For there was something in the man which made anything other than independence unthinkable. In-

dependence was not a goal which he achieved; it was an element which was of the essence of his being. Added to that, as those who came into contact with him quickly discovered, there was a friendliness, a candor, a simplicity about him which made his greatness winning. Perhaps no one can hope to sum up the qualities which made him tower over the nation in truer words than have been written by his lifelong friend, William Allen White:

"Here was a righteous man who was wise and unafraid, who followed his star, never lowered his flag and never lost his self-respect. His greatness was purely personal. He may have no lasting fame like Webster's, though Borah was greater as a human being. Borah will have no heart-broken followers like Blaine, who held men through their affections and when they died left Blaine unknown and unhonored. Borah will live in our history as a strange and noble figure who lived most simply and by his very simplicity took on the elements of grandeur. He was a statesman only so far as he was an honest man who dedicated his talents to his country's good, as selfless as ever a man had been in American public life. If that is greatness, he is entitled to don his memorial bronze and live among the immortals of his generation."

Proved Wrong

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Someone reproved me in some discussion the other day for not being ready to admit that I had been proved wrong. He made me wonder whether this was true of me. I had often noted it in others, most obstinate and even pigheaded they seemed. But what if I am like that myself?

A learned friend of mine, a most scrupulous scholar, once had a serious argument with another scholar who differed from him. The thing that shocked my friend was not the positions stated by his opponent, but these words that he added: "You may defeat me in argument, but that will make no difference; I shall still think the same." Those who take such a position are resting their belief on some intuition which is secure, unmoved by any evidence which might be brought from the plane of reason or logic. Then why enter into such planes at all? Why take part in a discussion which in no circumstance can end in their being wrong?

Much time might be saved if we said before any argument: "Let us have a clear understanding; if either of us is not prepared to admit that he is wrong, we had better call off the fixture and play a round of golf instead. In that one of us must be beaten!"

There was once a statesman who admitted that he had been wrong in one important decision. I hear you say with an editorial frown: "It is right, Quintus, that you should have a wide liberty allowed you; but really you must not go too far and strain the imagination of your readers. A statesman! Come now!" But he did, and since that time I have had a new respect for him. I thought it much more likely that he could be trusted in nine things if he were capable of admitting he had been wrong in the tenth.

I admit that his admission was unusual. It is very difficult to discover from certain memoirs and autobiographies why so much injustice has been done to famous men. How blameless they seem! How unjustly treated! How invariably right in judgment and right in execution—not as right as they might have been, perhaps, but that was due to the incompetence and folly of the others! Don't you rejoice in reading a book of recollections when you come across the words, "In this I was wrong"?

It is not even the custom of such as speak for churches to admit their mistakes. Their procedure has often been something like this: First, this new interpretation is false and blasphemous; second, this view if it is carefully examined, though erroneous, does not affect the substance of the faith; third, there may be something in this position which can be received, properly qualified, into the deposit; fourth, we rejoice in this view, strange as it seemed to some at first, for we now recognize that we really believed it all the time.

Would it not be better if it were frankly admitted by ecclesiastical statesmen that they had been wrong? They *have* been wrong now and then, haven't they?

Was it not Cromwell who urged certain of his friends to conceive it possible that they might be mistaken? I can think of little loss, and of immense gains, if that had been the mind of those who in a world of shadow have had to do their best to trace the path of God.

I have made up my mind, through the faithful wounds of that friend, to refrain from argument where there could be no serious attempt to arrive at a truth which would be admitted by both sides. Where there is a place for argument, and where under all the accepted canons I am proved wrong, I will admit it.

It comes to this. If a thing cannot be proved or disproved, why argue about it? If it can be, why should not we be as ready as scientists are to admit that we are wrong?

Ever yours in future humbly,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

A Drumless Cavalcade

TREASURE each fleeting hour
Of pulsing breath;
Use it to build a tower
Higher than death.

A drumless cavalcade,
Time hushes by;
Frost wields a ruthless blade,
The roses die.

Gone years do not return
As trees assume
Green moods, and stems concern
Themselves with bloom.

O youth, rear jasper walls
Outreaching death
Before its voice recalls
Your pulsing breath!

GERTIE STEWART PHILLIPS.

Can Belgium Stay Neutral?

By E. D. Chase

Brussels, January 4.

SIR JOHN SIMON says the war is costing Great Britain six million pounds a day. M. Paul Reynaud finally discloses that the war is costing France more than a billion francs a day. "Well informed sources" in Germany estimate that the Reich is paying 133⅓ million marks a day. The English prepare for a three-year war, and economists sharpen their pencils to figure out where the money is going to come from. Someone speaks of Stalin waiting to bolshevize a pauperized Europe. "Ah," another answers, "that is where the importance of the neutral lies. It is upon the neutrals' economic stability that Europe may have to depend when the armies return home to find their countries on the verge—we hope not further—of an economic collapse. Yes, active neutrality. That alone can save Europe!"

But what is happening to the European neutrals today? What is becoming of this economic stability that is to step in and save the tottering belligerents at the end? Belgium is one of these neutrals, and she is also a country where for a time there was much talk of "self-sufficient neutrality" and of fulfilling a great mission for Europe's future peace. An examination of what is actually happening in this country will prove revealing as to the outlook for all European neutrals.

Between Two Millstones

Suspended between two rapidly approaching millstones, Belgium is anxiously asking herself what is going to happen when the grinding surfaces come together and the sparks begin to fly. For although, in the words of Prime Minister De Geer of the Netherlands, Holland and Belgium form for the moment a peaceful island in the midst of the war, the island is unfortunately firmly rooted to the earth and cannot move itself out of the way when the warring countries around it let loose the seemingly inevitable "war in earnest." Belgium's delicate military situation is well known. Against invasion she has built a formidable defense system and has called up approximately 600,000 of her working population to man it. From a purely military point of view, then, the fate of her neutrality rests largely in the hands of the belligerent general staffs. But anti-tank fences and Albert canals can do nothing to stave off the effects of the economic war—effects which are now becoming so serious that if the war continues for any great length of time it will become increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for Belgium to remain neutral and live.

Belgium, like most small neutrals, has been in a severe depression since the beginning of 1938 and was just beginning to show signs of emerging from it when the war started. That depression left the budget of 1938 with a deficit of 955,000,000 Belgian francs at the close of the last fiscal year in March 1939. On top of that there had come the mobilization of Munich, costing the country an unexpected two billions which had to be paid by increased taxes. Then came last September and the war. The ministry of finances estimates that if the war lasts a year, it will cost the country nine billions for defense alone. In view of this fact the government, in planning the budget for 1940, has made every possible saving, and in the ordinary budget as now projected it has managed to work out a surplus of 23,000,000 francs. This will be what is left over after a hoped for total revenue of 11,656,000,000 francs has been applied to the ordinary and essential expenses of the government. But the extraordinary budget, which still shows only a billion of the estimated costs of the mobilization, is set forth at 2,235,000,000 francs. Add to that the costs of mobilization and it is clear that M. Gutt, minister of finance, is faced with the fact that he must pay out almost exactly twice what he can hope to take in even under the most favorable conditions.

Where Is the Money Coming From?

In facing this situation, M. Gutt has charted a course that is proving a bitter pill to many. The country must, he says, show that it is willing to make every possible sacrifice to cope with the problem by itself, even though it is manifestly impossible for it to succeed. Courageously discarding proposals for foreign loans or immediate inflation, the minister declares that only after the country has proved its willingness to try to help itself will it be justified in resorting to either of these methods, and that resort to the latter can only be justified in case of absolute necessity. But the chances for foreign loans, he frankly admits, are very, very small. Cut off from the United States by the Johnson act, Belgium is not likely to find willing lenders among the belligerents even if a loan from one of them could, by some roundabout bit of sophistry, be made compatible with her neutrality. Holland? Holland is paying even more than Belgium for her mobilization. Switzerland? She too has a mobilization to pay for, as do the Scandinavian countries.

A Financial Gesture of Despair

So, calling upon all sides to make sacrifices, M. Gutt has laid out a program of taxation that he hopes will bring a billion and a half into the treasury. But the country at present is showing itself by no means ready to shoulder the burden of these added taxes. Conservative opposition to the present form of indemnities to families of the mobilized and to the tax upon war profits is proving so strong that several times in committee votes it has put the government in the minority, causing real alarm among the other parties as to whether the government will be able to carry through its program or will be forced to resign. This is a disquieting sign to those who feel the precarious state in which, for purely economic reasons, Belgium's neutrality now finds itself. It is above all a reflection of the unrest which is being caused by the starving out of the country's business.

But these unwelcome taxes cannot begin to cover ex-

penses even if business picks up. So the government plans to try an internal loan and believes one possible, but it does not dare specify how much it wants. It has decided merely to announce that up to a certain date contributions will be gratefully received, and then see how much has come in. But this again can be little more than a gesture, and is frankly admitted to be such. After that there are the treasury notes and inflation. But who knows what may have happened by that time?

"Even if business picks up—" The gesture of despair which invariably accompanies that remark is more portentous for this country than for almost any other, since in Belgium business is foreign trade. Because Belgium possesses no raw materials except coal and labor, industry is entirely dependent upon imports and exports. In former years over 70 per cent of the country's income derived from this trade. How serious a blow the war is delivering to the foundations on which her whole life is built is easily seen.

In 1938 almost half of Belgium's total imports and more than half of her exports came from and went to the countries now at war. In that year the distribution was as follows: (Total imports, 23,166,900,000 Belgian francs; total exports, 21,723,900,000 Belgian francs.)

	Imports	Exports (in francs)
British commonwealth	4,096,801,000	4,521,100,000
French empire	3,559,344,000	3,669,723,000
Germany	2,596,563,000	2,654,497,000
Poland (with Danzig)	282,967,000	294,149,000
Czechoslovakia	238,975,000	181,622,000
Total	10,776,650,000	11,321,091,000

Holland was the only other Continental country to carry an appreciable percentage of Belgian trade, taking 12 per cent. Switzerland, the next in importance, took 2.45 per cent. But nearly 55 per cent of the trading with the British commonwealth was done with countries other than the United Kingdom, so that the problem of transportation becomes important.

Prospective Ruin Faces Trade

What is happening to this trade? Normally Belgium has a slightly unfavorable trade balance. In September the surplus of exports over imports was more than 500,000,000 francs. In October it was over 300,000,000, and in November it was over 200,000,000. Although this shows considerable improvement, due to a pickup in the almost paralyzed shipping and sales from belligerent countries and neutrals at the beginning of the war, it is still far from normal. Belgium's merchant marine at the beginning of the war comprised seventy units totaling 200,000 tons. (Great Britain had 17,984,000 tons.) Insurance rates have risen about ten per cent, but vary for neutral or belligerent ships. Freight rates to Antwerp are quoted at 100 shillings higher than to non-channel ports, and that fact, along with the general decline of trade, dropped shipping activity in the port of Antwerp to one-third its normal volume before the blockade on German exports went into effect. Since 53 per cent of the total exports from Antwerp used to be of German origin, shipping interests have to face the fact that even a substantial improvement in the country's trade will not suffice to save them from a situation that is well-nigh ruinous.

As far as food goes, Belgium is not so badly off. Although she generally imports about 30 per cent of her foodstuffs, it is estimated that by intense effort, and with the exception of a few commodities, she can become nearly self-sufficient if necessary. Her greatest lack is wheat, of which she can produce only from 30 to 40 per cent of her needs. Last year she imported 1,100,000 tons, mostly from the United States, to make up the deficit. At present it is estimated that she has reserves for six or eight months. After that the supply will depend on what happens to transportation. Her native meat supply will be adequate only provided she can import certain necessary fodders, such as corn, rye, barley, cottonseed and bran, which she does not produce in sufficient quantities. Other foodstuffs which she has to import wholly or in part are lard, the makings for margarine, fruits and all so-called exotic foods, such as coffee, tea, rice and salt.

Rising Cost of Living

Wages in Belgium are tied to an index based upon the price of certain articles of food. This index, it is claimed, is being forced up disproportionately by the difficulties experienced in importing one or two of the articles on it. An attempt is now being made either to revise the index or to stabilize wages independently of it, but there is no doubt that the cost of living has risen appreciably. Unemployment has risen too, both because of the decline in trade and because so many men from industry have been called to the army. The weekly rate of increase has been around 4 per cent and the total now tops 210,000. This may not seem much in America, but it is a great deal in this little country. Attempts are now being made to replace important business and industrial men who have been mobilized by unemployed, and it is hoped that this will have a good effect all around, but the difficulty is that most of the unemployed are over army age.

Of all the country's worries, one of the most brow-furrowing is coal mining. Aside from labor, coal is the only natural resource Belgium has, and she depends very largely upon it, not only to supply her own furnaces, but to use in exchange for vital raw materials from abroad, notably French iron. Last year Belgium's pits produced 29,500,000 tons, while her domestic needs were 26,200,000 tons. Last year she imported 4,500,000 tons from Germany to cover her home needs and those of her trade. This year it is doubtful if she will get much from Germany, and in order to supply all her needs herself, it is estimated that her production must be raised to 35,000,000 tons. But how to do it? Many of her miners were foreigners and have left the country. Fifteen thousand native miners are wading in the frontier mud, rifles on shoulders.

War Cuts Off Supplies

In attempting to solve this problem, the government has reached an agreement with the unions to raise working hours from seven and a half to eight hours a day, to be compensated by an extra day off every three weeks. It is also giving the companies subsidies for apprentice workers, and is demobilizing as many of the miners as possible. But it is obvious that these measures will not bring the production to the desired level.

Sweden as a source of iron is beginning to look like

a long chance, and England as a source of coal is doubtful in the extreme. Whether Belgium will be able to get these supplies elsewhere remains to be seen. Other materials for which she is dependent upon outside sources are oil, chemicals, textile fibers, wood, paper, automotive vehicles and machines. These are very important imports, essential to her industry and hence to the economic life of the country, but most of them she can get from neutrals. Oil comes largely from the United States, Mexico, Irak, as well as from Germany and England. Provided the transportation problem can be solved, therefore, Belgium should not run short. How important this problem is, however, can be seen from the fact that during the first week of December 35 Swedish vessels with lumber cargoes for Belgian and Dutch ports were held up by Germany, and had been in the control port for nearly a month.

King Leopold, in his broadcast to America, was tragically right when he said that peace is essential for the life of his country. Now that war has begun, and the possibility of its long duration seems to increase, Belgium's future appears dark in the extreme. From the point of view of material damage, one is almost justified in saying that the war, declared by two nations against a third, is in reality being waged by all three of them against the neutrals.

A Church-Made War with Japan?

By Kenneth Scott Latourette

ARE WE TO HAVE a church-made war with Japan? Are avowedly Christian organizations and earnest Christian folk to whom war is abhorrent following a road which has that catastrophe as its logical destination? Many of our most active church leaders, with the most sensitive consciences, among them numbers of missionaries and men and women prominent in missionary circles, are advocating measures which, if taken by our government, will very possibly bring us to that issue.

The question comes squarely before us with the expiration this month of the treaty of 1911. That document, as everyone knows, interposes legal obstacles to measures which many are demanding that our government take to cut off war supplies from this country to Japan. The denunciation of the treaty was a first step toward those measures. Redoubled pressure is being brought to bear on Congress to induce it to more vigorous action. In that direction lies war, a war whose outcome no one should confidently predict but which would undoubtedly prove incredibly costly to both sides while it would not achieve what those who are leading us toward it desire to accomplish.

Reasons for an Embargo

With the reasons which are urged for curtailing our trade with Japan we have all been made familiar. Japan is waging a war of aggression in China. For its prosecution she is purchasing military supplies from this country, notably petroleum and its products, scrap iron, machinery and automobiles. Planes driven by American-produced gasoline rain bombs manufactured from American iron upon defenseless cities. By selling supplies to Japan we are sharing in Japan's guilt. The money or silk which we obtain in payment is covered with Chinese blood. To place an embargo on these essential war materials would cripple Japan and shorten the conflict. If it failed to end the war, the embargo would at least free our consciences.

From the standpoint of dollars and cents it is declared that Japan's "new order" in east Asia means closing the door to American commerce. By selling to Japan we are digging the grave for our future trade in the Far East. Moreover, Japan is so engrossed in her struggle with China and so threatened by Russia that she would not commit national suicide by taking on a war with the United States. An embargo of war material would not lead to hostilities and would quickly cause Japan to give up her conquest of China, especially now that, with the treaty of 1911 out of the way, this step could be taken without violating our word. So runs the argument.

The reasoning is very appealing. So obvious appear its contentions and so convincing its conclusions that even to suggest a *caveat* seems immoral, a betrayal of Christian principles and, on a lower plane, a surrender of legitimate American interests.

Some Unconsidered Factors

However, the situation is by no means so simple. A number of considerations enter which profoundly modify the picture. Their brief enumeration may indicate the gravity of the step so passionately and conscientiously advocated.

1. Really to stop complicity we must cut off not merely materials which are used directly in war, but *all* our commerce with Japan. The sale of any commodity to her, including the apparently harmless cotton which normally has bulked so large in our exports to her, supplies Japan with goods which assist her economic life and structure and help her to carry on. Any purchases from her contribute to her fund of foreign exchange which is so essential if her vital overseas purchases are to continue.

2. The Japanese are a persistent people and are practically unanimous in their determination to have a government in China which will fully cooperate with them. Some few liberals may regret that the war was started. Some, when they become aware of them, sincerely deplore the excesses against the civilian population which have marked the course of Japan's arms. Practically all, however, even of the liberals, believe in the justice of Japan's cause. To turn back and admit defeat would mean economic collapse, an unprecedented shock to Japanese mo-

rale, and probably political revolution. The chances are that Japan will go on to the bitter end—either to the attainment of her objectives or to ruin. At most she can be coerced only into a temporary postponement of her ambitions. Any force which is not crushing will not lead her to renounce them. In the long run the Chinese will compel Japan to evacuate their country, but it may be decades or even centuries before Japan completely releases her hold.

Partial Boycott Inadequate

3. A partial boycott by the United States would not stop Japan. A complete cessation of trade with the United States would probably not do so. Cutting off our sale of motor fuels and scrap iron would embarrass her, but she could almost certainly obtain enough elsewhere, although at higher costs, to continue her invasion. A total severance of commercial relations would be more embarrassing to her, but even then she would probably tighten her belt and go on—even though to eventual ruin.

4. So mild a measure as a partial boycott would prove irritating and would provoke reprisals. A complete boycott would bring even more serious retaliation. The Japanese are tense with a war psychology. They are a proud people. Relations between the United States and Japan have long been chronically strained. The Japanese have not forgotten our treatment of their fellow countrymen in the United States or our immigration law of 1924. It would not take much to start reprisals. Those might take the form of further bombing of American properties in China or Japanese-instigated anti-American riots in China. One act might be the formal declaration of war by Japan on China. This would be followed by a full blockade of the China coast, including Shanghai, and the further curtailment of American commercial and philanthropic activities in China. The more radical elements in the Japanese army would shake off restraint. Japanese retaliation would provoke American counter-reprisals.

5. Once reprisals began, war would become more likely. It might not be inevitable, but it would be much harder to avert. Tempers would rise on both sides of the Pacific. National honor would become involved. Hostilities might commence gradually, but before long both nations would probably be exerting their full strength.

War Would Defeat Its Own Ends

6. Such a war would prove ruinous to both parties and would not accomplish what the idealists who inaugurated the embargo desired. At the outset and perhaps throughout its course the war would be fought primarily on the sea. To reach Japan and crush her would require a much larger navy than we now possess. To build such a navy would take time. The war would place a heavy burden upon our already creaking economy. It would also prove a crushing load for Japan. Japan would probably be driven into the arms of Russia and the two might divide China between them, thus hastening the advance of both Russian and Japanese imperialism in that unhappy country. China would not have been saved nor our interests there safeguarded. We would have complicated and made worse the tragic situation in the Far East and would have accumulated a legacy of hate from which would probably come still other wars. If we were to win the war, which would be likely in view of our greater economic strength, we would feel bound to continue to interfere actively in Far Eastern affairs—a costly procedure which would contribute to keeping that region upset and jeopardize its peace. We could not stabilize the region without dominating it, and that would be so costly that in the post-war reaction we would presumably partly but not completely withdraw.

7. If by some good fortune or skillful diplomacy on both sides we escaped a war with Japan, even a partial cutting off of trade by the action of our government would accentuate irresponsible national sovereignty and international lawlessness and anarchy. Our action would have been unilateral. Without reference to any international body (for we have spurned both League of Nations and world court) we would have set ourselves up as prosecuting attorney, judge and executioner. To be consistent, we would have to take similar action against any other power which we deemed an aggressor. We would have to police the world. Possibly we would not be consistent. Nations, like individuals, seldom are. Yet even if we were inconsistent, in the name of justice we would have asserted our right to be the judge of what is right. That would be a further asseveration of unregulated national sovereignty which is one of the curses of our world. It would make more difficult the achievement of international order.

What Should Be Done?

What then is the alternative? What practical measures are possible for Americans which will make for the peace of the Far East? One suggestion, argued with much persuasiveness, by both Americans and Japanese, would have us renew the expired treaty, with some modifications, and in effect, in return for concessions and promises from Japan, recognize in principle Japan's paramount position in the Far East and her "new order" in eastern Asia. By that method we could almost certainly avoid involving ourselves in war in the Far East. However, in view of the temper of American public opinion, of an understandable determination not to be party to a Far Eastern Munich or to abandon China, and in the light of our traditional policy in the Far East, it is highly improbable that our government can be persuaded to follow that course.

It seems hardly likely that at this juncture we can negotiate a long term commercial treaty with Japan which will be reasonably satisfactory to both the Japanese and ourselves. We are not prepared to assent to Japan's program for her new order in eastern Asia and Japan can scarcely give formal recognition to the principles of the independence and territorial integrity of China and the equality of commercial opportunity in that country on which we, in accordance with our tradition, insist. The best that we can hope for is a purely *ad interim* arrangement.

It may be wiser to do for a time without a commercial treaty. Diplomatic relations can continue on the basis of other treaties. Trade and residence can go on in accord with international law and with the consent of each government but without the formal assurance of the most-favored-nation privilege which the treaty of 1911 now

promises each. For instance, we do not now have a commercial treaty with Mexico. It is not likely that Japan would sacrifice her important American trade by drastic restrictions on American commerce or residents. In that situation a certain amount of diplomatic pressure can be brought to bear on Japan without violating a treaty and without an embargo. The fear of a sudden boycott might be a deterrent to some of the most drastic measures to which we object.

Wait Until End of European War

We may need to wait for a new long term treaty until the time when the close of the European war and the further progress of the hostilities between Japan and China shall make Japan more ready to enter into an international conference for a general settlement of Far Eastern affairs. Should Great Britain and France win the European war, they will presumably wish a reckoning in the Far East in which they can assert their claims more actively than they can now. By that time Japan will probably be further weakened and may be less insistent upon full hegemony in China. Until the European war is over any arrangements between ourselves and Japan concerning the Far East will necessarily be more transient than international agreements, which are notoriously impermanent, normally are.

When the time comes for such a general settlement we might well throw our weight for the progressive surrender of extraterritorial privileges and of other compromises of Chinese independence and thus aid in placing the Chinese government on that full parity with other governments without which no program in the Far East can hope for a peaceful course. In conjunction with that settlement, perhaps as a gesture before entering such an international conference, we should by all means place all peoples, including Orientals, on the immigration quota and thus remove one chronic irritant and prove to the Japanese the sincerity of our desire for an arrangement which is fair to them. Presumably that can best be done by congressional legislation. We would find more difficulty in obtaining a two-thirds vote of the Senate in ratification of a treaty which contained that provision than in securing a majority vote of Congress for a law appropriate to the situation.

Help for Japan

We would probably also need to assure Japan of most-favored-nation access to our markets and to seek to induce China to cease from anti-Japanese actions and to promise Japan equality of opportunity in Chinese markets and in the purchase of Chinese raw materials. The Japanese will never willingly assent to any arrangement which does not seem to them to meet some of their economic needs and which does not take account of their national dignity. However, such a general settlement may be remote. For a number of years to come we may find ourselves obliged to conduct our commerce with Japan on almost a day by day basis.

Fortunately Christians are not restricted to diplomatic measures. Other channels are open to us for what in the long run is far more effective action. Through the various phases of the ecumenical movement we can strengthen the ties between our churches and the churches of China and Japan. In that fashion we can assist in building a supranational Christian fellowship around the Pacific which can ease the tensions and the hatreds between our respective nations. Through the Christian missionary movement we can aid in the growth of the churches in Japan and China, still pitiably weak in numbers. Through their assistance in producing a leadership for China American missions have already done more to help that country achieve internal order, self-respecting, effective independence, and a wholesome issue from the chaos of the past generation than all American diplomacy and our much vaunted Open Door policy have succeeded in accomplishing in a century.

Politically the Chinese must save themselves. All that another government can do is to assure them a breathing space in which to do so. Christian missions have had and are still having a notable part in producing the necessary leadership. It is upon maintaining and strengthening their missionary forces and the ties between the churches of the United States and those of the Far East and not through embargoes and boycotts that the Christians of the United States can best contribute to peace and justice in the Far East. We can also aid in the relief of the suffering which the present war has brought in the Far East. At the moment that is most needed in China. The time may not be far distant when it will also be needed in Japan. We must be prepared to minister to acute human need regardless of nationality.

By advocating an embargo and the restriction or severance of commercial relations with Japan, many American Christians are urging the country on in a path which has war as its not too improbable outcome. Fortunately by no means all Christians or Christian bodies have thus far been fully persuaded by them. There is still time to pause. Other channels are open to us which do not issue in war but through which progress can be made toward a just and peaceful international order in the Pacific. That goal may be far distant and may never be fully attained, but the way of the boycott and commercial non-intercourse leads away from it. Let not the churches of America have the blot of a Japanese-American war upon their record!

For German Democrats

THEIR little world against a world of guns,
Their little band of lovers shod with dream,
Lovers of people, hungry, lonely ones,
Against an iron-blanketed régime.

Their voices lost in hurricanes of greed,
Their pleas now trapped in desert waste of lust,
The while their hands still hold the precious seed,
They yet shall reap the harvest of their trust,

Their little world against a world of guns,
Their David faith against Goliath power,
Their love of all men's daughters, all men's sons.
God hold them close in their heroic hour!

LUCIA TRENT.

Borah -- The Last Word

From the Congressional Record

It was not given to Senator Borah to deliver a prepared speech of farewell to the Senate and the American people. But on January 11, in the course of regular business in the Senate, while discussing the nomination of Mr. Charles Edison to be secretary of the navy, Senator Borah extemporaneously delivered what was to prove his last speech. Our readers will recall that the navy's secretary-designate had sent to Congress a bill conferring extraordinary powers on the President to control the industrial processes of the country. The bill was discussed editorially in The Christian Century for January 17; it is currently understood to have been shelved. The integrity of Senator Borah's mind and of his career is remarkably revealed by this speech. Struck off at the moment, it is nevertheless integral to every main purpose which controlled his more than thirty years of national leadership. All Americans will do well to ponder it.

MR. PRESIDENT, the nomination of Mr. Charles Edison to be secretary of the navy is on the executive calendar. Mr. Edison has sent to the speaker of the House of Representatives a letter urging certain legislation of a most extraordinary nature. For myself, I am not willing to have the nomination acted upon without calling attention to the proposed measure. I would not want, even by implication, to be placed in a position in which it might be thought that I had endorsed any such legislation.

The measure, if enacted, would confer power, or seek to confer power, to seize and confiscate property, such as factories, ships and other materials, to cancel or modify contracts and agreements, and to interfere with the personal rights of the citizen and his personal liberty—all this to be done in time of peace before a declaration of war upon the part of this government.

Conferring Arbitrary Power

The theory seems to be that in a so-called emergency these arbitrary powers are to be called into existence and exercised. I am unable to ascertain that any explanation, or reason, or arguments accompanied the request or the proposed measure. The bill also provides that in case a factory refuses or fails to comply with its terms, the President may fix a reasonable price, all of which in contemplation of law would be an act of confiscation.

It seems to me that under all the circumstances and the fact that it is based purely upon a question of emergency and not of war, the act would be arbitrary and clearly unconstitutional. It would be in violation of the most fundamental principles of constitutional government and of democratic processes.

It is fair to Mr. Edison to say that, in 1917, the Congress included in its naval appropriation bill provisions granting power similar to the powers urged by Mr. Edison. In that instance, however, the law provided that "in time of war" or "of national emergency." Now, however, the provision "time of war" is to be stricken out, and the law is to depend solely upon the question of "an emergency." I am not going to discuss, because it has no relevancy at this time, the question of what could be done "in time of war." I think there are a great many things that cannot be done "in time of war," but there is no need of going into that question. I am dealing now with the question of a mere claim of emergency. May these powers be granted, some of which are in plain violation of the Constitution, on a claim of emergency? We are proceeding to enact such legislation, not in an emergency connected with war, but in an emergency isolated and alone. I venture to say that no justification for any such authority can be found in constitutional law or in constitutional principles.

Danger to the Bill of Rights

If we can do what is provided in this bill because of an emergency, unless that emergency is one which brings the Congress within the war powers of the government or the terms of the Constitution, then we could also provide, in case of an emergency, for the suspension of the Bill of Rights. We could prohibit free speech, free press, and the right of trial by jury. Under the terms of this measure, as it is urged, there would be no limitation of the powers of Congress if we could only head the bill with the declaration of "an emergency." To me it is a startling proposition. It tends to show how far we have traveled, or are traveling, in the exercise of purely arbitrary powers.

If it should be declared that an emergency exists and that this emergency was of such a nature as to make trial by jury unsafe and unwise, or to make public discussion and free debate contrary to the public interests, we should be quite within the principles of this proposed law.

It should never be forgotten that an emergency does not create power. It does not increase power. Such power as may be found in the Constitution may be exercised because of an emergency, but the emergency itself does not add to or create power. In fact, as we all know, the Constitution was adopted in a period of great emergency. Its grant to the federal government and its limitation of power were determined in the light of emergency, and they are not to be altered in any way, shape or form by emergencies.

Democracy in Peril

Mr. President, democracy is having a pretty tough fight with arbitrary power and with arbitrary governments. The distinguished South African statesman, General Smuts, recently declared that there is less of personal liberty in the world today than there was 150 years ago. That the fight is going against democracy at the present time seems to be believed by practically all, and there are those who believe that democracy will ultimately lose. Nowhere is this more evident than in democracies themselves. Such legislation as now proposed and the seizure of every opportunity to discredit democracy and democratic processes, hastening at all times to advertise the efficiency and the necessity of arbitrary powers, are telling most against dem-

ocratic principles and democratic processes. Arbitrary governments the world over boast of their superior capacity in meeting the world's problems and point to the admitted practices and methods of democracy to prove their claim. Faith in democracy is dying. Its principles and its methods are not breaking down. Under the cry of emergency we strike down the rights of the citizen and thus advertise to the world again and again that democracy cannot cope with modern exigencies as against the competition of centralized power. With marvelous magnificence the little democracy of Finland has demonstrated to the world the falsity of this cowardly lie.

This bill is only a sample. Many bills have been introduced based upon the same principles as the proposed measure. The Congress could render no greater service to the world for free government and bring to it no greater distinction than by denouncing and striking down these measures one after another.

It is important, vitally important, that we expose and punish, as we are now engaged in doing, the activities of those whose "isms" run counter to the principles of our government. Whenever and wherever we can reach them through legal methods, let us reach them; and once having laid hands upon them under the law, neither apology nor flimsy excuse nor misguided mercy should interfere with their punishment. The most vicious enemies of human liberty, the most dangerous to free institutions, are the treacherous foes who seek shelter under the laws and institutions which assure free speech, free press and personal liberty, and then make use of this shelter to destroy the government which protects them.

The Defense of Democracy

It is living up to our own teachings and principles which really counts in this great struggle for the preservation of free institutions. Introducing bills and passing laws which strike at the letter—and if not the letter, the spirit—of democratic principles, these are the things which undermine and break down faith in democracy. Measures introduced and urged which are in themselves impeachments of the whole scheme of democracy do infinitely more harm than a thousand communists chattering on the street corners. Such attempts at legislation, or such legislation, soon teaches the people that nothing stands between them and their liberty, the rights of property, except the construction which political exigency or the technical views of courts may give to the word "emergency." The jealousy which we should at all times feel and exercise toward every encroachment upon the great principles which protect the rights and the liberty of the people gives way to a search for methods of escaping the force of these principles.

Mr. President, in this period of almost universal assault throughout the world upon the rights, the privileges and the liberties of the average person, we in America may not sufficiently realize that we have in our Bill of Rights found in our Constitution a complete guaranty against the destruction of the principles in which we believe. So long as the Bill of Rights stands and is preserved in its integrity, so long as we live up to its terms and conditions, there can be no denial of free speech, of free press, no religious persecution, no arbitrary government, no concentration camps, no breaking into homes, no unlawful arrests, no denials of personal liberty.

Look to the Bill of Rights!

When so-called emergency legislation strikes at this sacred document in any particular it should be stricken down without hesitancy. If doubts are to be indulged in, they should be resolved against all possible encroachments. The glory of the Bill of Rights is that it is a restraint upon government as well as upon individuals; that it protects the rights of the people against those who have been entrusted with power and who have betrayed their trust. And not only are our interests involved, not only is this Bill of Rights a sacred document of the American people, but when the time comes—as, please God, I am sure it will come—that the oppressed people of the world begin to fight their way back to civilization and away from the frightful "isms" which engulf them in misery and slavery, they will look to this Bill of Rights as embodying their hopes and ideals and will judge it according to the worth and the efficiency which we have by our acts and words given it.

Not long ago a traveler from a totalitarian state, after spending months in America, said to his people, "Before any progress can be made in breaking down American institutions, a way must be found to discredit the American Bill of Rights." I have said it is a sacred document. If human liberty is sacred, this document is sacred.

Mr. President, I am interested only in this bill. I do not desire to object to the nominee personally. I know nothing against him. I have understood that he said the measure went up as a matter of routine, basing his proceeding largely upon what had happened during the war. I am also informed by the press that the able chairman of the House committee dealing with this subject has intimated strongly his opposition to the bill. I am speaking therefore to the question of the measure only; I want to record my views against the measure and to give notice that those views will later, if necessary, be urged. But I was not willing to have the confirmation acted upon without a record as to views which are held here with reference to the bill itself.

On Every Face

THE people I have met all day appear
Before my sleepless eyes, a company
Diverse in type yet wearing vividly
The sign of one emotion, marked and clear,
One thing in common, binding and severe.
The tramp, the matron of society,
The business man return again to me.
On every face the dominance of fear!

When I was table high my mind could trace
A bear within the shadows of the room.
My mother bade me touch—a coat was there.
I pity one with fear upon his face.
The hand of faith can penetrate the gloom,
And fearful shapes become dissolved in air.

GERTRUDE RYDER BENNETT.

BOOKS

A Unique Apocalypse Manuscript

THE ELIZABETH DAY MCCORMICK APOCALYPSE. VOL. I, A GREEK CORPUS OF REVELATION ICONOGRAPHY, *by Harold R. Willoughby.* VOL. II, HISTORY AND TEXT, *by Ernest Cadman Colwell. University of Chicago Press, $25.00.*

MISS McCORMICK must have felt like Tischendorf finding the Codex Sinaiticus at St. Catherine's on Sinai when she discovered the Maximos Apocalypse in a little shop in Paris. As a contribution to knowledge of the original text of the Apocalypse it is of no great value, but nevertheless it well deserves the superb format in which the University of Chicago Press has published it and the no less superb editing that Professor Willoughby and Dean Colwell have given it. The reasons? First, it is unique in its miniatures—the only series of Revelation illustrations ever found in a Greek manuscript. Second, the text represents an earnest but abortive effort to make Scripture intelligible to the unlearned among the Eastern Orthodox clergy, for it is a translation into modern vernacular Greek of the early seventeenth century. It was shortly after hearing a lecture by Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed on the Edith Rockefeller McCormick manuscript, which he had discovered, that Miss McCormick caught a glimpse of this Apocalypse in a shop window and, equipped with her new interest and knowledge, recognized its value and bought it. She subsequently gave it to the University of Chicago.

Maximos the Peloponnesian was a Greek who went to Alexandria a little before 1600 where he became a protégé of the patriarch, Meletios Pegas, and of his successor Cyril Lucar who was to some extent influenced by Protestant theologians of Geneva and Holland. The impulse to make translations into the common tongue for the unlearned priests who could not read classical or Hellenistic Greek was at least partly derived from Protestant sources. About 1601 Maximos, encouraged by Cyril, produced his translation of the Apocalypse. To the text itself he added the translation of a commentary, which is chiefly that of Andreas (a sixth century metropolitan of Caesarea) with a mingling of Arethas and some expansions of both. The work was written, not printed. Three other copies are known to exist. This one was probably made before the middle of the seventeenth century. It belonged to Parthenion of Larissa *(floruit* 1682-1725), who doubtless gave it its present magnificent binding. The binding itself is worth a chapter, and gets a long one which extends into a complete treatise on Greek monastic book-binding.

Maximos made other translations into the vernacular—Psalms, sermons, etc.—for he was evidently seriously committed to the idea of making religion intelligible. He was, in so far, a spiritual cousin to those in England who wished Scripture to be "understanded of the people," and he was similarly an ancestor of all those (Goodspeed *et al.)* who have thought it no sacrilege to translate it into current speech. The subsequent career of Maximos is devious and obscure. He seems to have stolen some books and manuscripts from Cyril, who later forgave him. (An ancient if not honorable form of theft. The Italian humanists used to borrow and keep manuscripts like umbrellas, and sometimes they borrowed without permission, as Boccaccio did at Monte Casino.) Then he was sent on a mission, and was captured by pirates who looted his literary loot. He taught and wrote at Jannina (in Epirus) and perhaps in Jerusalem. Then "Maximos the Peloponnesian" vanishes and there appears one "Maximos of Gallipoli" who may or may not be the same person. Dean Colwell thinks the two Maximoi are possibly identical; Professor Willoughby thinks they probably are; some Athenian scholars of repute take the opposite view.

What makes the question of identity interesting and the identification tempting is that Maximos of Gallipoli made a vernacular translation of the whole New Testament, the "diglot" of 1638—ancient and modern Greek versions in parallel columns—sponsored by Cyril Lucar, urged by the Dutch ambassador to Constantinople, Cornelius van Haga, assisted by Anthony Leger, an Italian Protestant sent by the Swiss Calvinists, and published in Geneva at the expense of the Dutch government. It didn't go very well. Twenty-eight years later only 470 copies had been shipped to Constantinople and the rest of the edition of 1,500 were still in storage at Geneva. Subsequent editions, of which there were about ten in the next two centuries, were mostly printed in London and pushed by the Bible Society. The Greek Church was opposed to having a New Testament that the people could understand. Maximos, whether one man or two, was ahead of his time.

But to return to the pictures. Considering the vividly pictorial character of apocalyptic imagery, it would seem to offer a tempting field for the painter. But Byzantine artists were not interested. Greek Orthodox churchmen were long doubtful of the canonicity of the Apocalypse. They gave it no place in the lectionary, and none in the scheme of mural decoration for churches. It became fully canonical only about 1300, and before an independent tradition of Revelation iconography could develop the golden age of illuminated manuscripts had passed. The new interest expressed itself in some murals, but these were for the most part dominated by the influence of Albrecht Dürer's series of fourteen woodcuts of the Apocalypse and Lucas Cranach's additional seven designs. This again was a Protestant invasion of Orthodoxy.

The high point of interest in the Elizabeth Day McCormick manuscript, therefore, is the absolute uniqueness of its complete series of Greek illustrations of the Apocalypse. There are sixty-nine of them—lacking only three of having one for each section into which Andreas divides the book in his commentary. A few are crude, but most are good and some are excellent. They show a curious mingling of Byzantine, Italian, German, Persian and Turkish elements in their design. There is meaning in the fact that some of the saints and angels show the insignia of Christian crusaders while some of the fiends and villains of the piece wear turbans. Christians under the sultan's rule, like those under the Caesars, had reason to express their hope in terms of apocalyptic imagery. These full-page pictures are reproduced in excellent collotype and are subjected by Professor Willoughby to rigorous and exhaustive study, the ramifications of which extend to the consideration of all sources and parallels however remote, as well as the principles of composition, the techniques of painting and the theological implications of the designs.

The University of Chicago Press should be congratulated for the beautiful work that it has done in presenting this notable manuscript and its scholarly editing in a form comparable to that given to the Rockefeller McCormick manuscript of the New Testament and the Four Gospels of Kara-

hissar. It is scarcely worth while to do this sort of thing at all unless it is done right, for beauty is of the essence of the material. In these volumes it is done right.

W. E. GARRISON.

Making Psychology Live

MIND EXPLORERS. *By John K. Winkler and Walter Bromberg. Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.00.*

ACCORDING to the blurb, "a lively biographer has in this book joined hands with an expert man of medicine to write of the lives and achievements of those intrepid men who laid the groundwork for the brave new science of psychology." The blurb claims that no such attempt has ever been made before. With this one can scarcely agree. The three-volume history of psychology in autobiography edited by Professor Carl Murchison is built on much the same idea. It is equally interesting and far more authoritative than the present volume. However, Winkler and Bromberg cover a wider field. They include both psychiatry and academic psychology and they cover a span of one hundred and fifty years.

The psychologists whom they have singled out for special attention are Gall, Mesmer, Pinel, Charcot, Francis Galton, William James, Stanley Hall, McKeen Cattell, Lewis M. Terman, John B. Watson and Sigmund Freud. Each one of these is dealt with as an exponent of some particular trend or point of view which has had its part in the development of present-day psychology. Animal psychology is represented in this book by three men, Yerkes, Thorndike and Lashley, and mental hygiene by Weir Mitchell, Adolf Meyer and Clifford Beers.

The careful reader will be troubled by the failure of the authors to give references to their sources of information. He may also be annoyed by the strained effort at a "lively" style. Thus William James is dealt with under the heading "A Psychological Prima Donna," Francis Galton is "A Sportsman Scientist," and McKeen Cattell is "The Patriarch of Fort Defiance." Again, the reader may wish that the live issues and the divergent trends in the field of psychology and psychiatry had been brought out more clearly. However, the story is well told and the picture it gives is on the whole a just one.

This book can be recommended to those who want an interesting introduction to the study of the human mind.

ANTON T. BOISEN.

Books in Brief

HOME MISSIONS ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. *By Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, $3.50.*

Growing out of a Ph.D. thesis prepared under the direction of Professor F. J. Turner, this book naturally gives to the importance of the frontier in American history the full emphasis which it was Turner's special merit to initiate, but it is free from the exaggerations and distortions which have characterized the work of some of Turner's less careful disciples. Goodykoontz (professor of history, University of Colorado) appreciates but does not romanticize the frontier. The field of this treatise is the planting and expansion of Protestantism in the colonies and the United States, with special but not exclusive attention to the Congregationalists and Presbyterians and the American Home Missionary Society. This society, organized in 1826 to continue and coordinate previous efforts, was designed, in the words of one of its founders, to have "no sectional interests, no local prejudices, no sectarian views." It should be mentioned, as indicating the scope and coverage of the work, that the author does not get down to the A.H.M.S. until page 173, but he has nearly 300 pages thereafter in which to trace the progress of religion on the frontier as long as there was a frontier. Large use has been made of source materials, both printed and manuscript, including in the latter category the immense collection of A.H.M.S. correspondence now in possession of Chicago Theological Seminary. While the two denominations mentioned are most fully treated, there is no small amount of data concerning the expansion of Baptist, Methodist and Episcopalian churches. The work is a valuable contribution to American church history, accurate in substance, judicious in tone, well documented for the use of students.

THREE COPERNICAN TREATISES. *Translated with introduction and notes by Edward Rosen. Columbia University Press, $3.00.*

It is rather surprising that the works of Copernicus, written in Latin, have never been translated into English. His great work, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium,* was published in the year of his death, 1543, a date the four hundredth anniversary of which will doubtless be fittingly celebrated three years hence—perhaps by a translation of this epoch-making treatise. The present volume contains three shorter works, two by Copernicus, one by his disciple Rheticus. It is suitable that these should be first translated, for they were the first documents by which the world was informed of the Copernican discoveries. The *Commentariolus* is a brief exposition of the new system, prepared for limited circulation in manuscript before the author was ready to publish his great work. It was lost for more than 300 years. One copy was found in Vienna in 1878, and a second in Stockholm in 1881. The *Letter against Werner* was written to correct an erroneous theory concerning the motion of the "eighth sphere." It also circulated in manuscript but later was printed as an appendix to *De Revolutionibus.* Rheticus, who took his degree at Wittenberg and taught mathematics there from 1536, was of course a Lutheran. Hearing rumors of Copernicus' discoveries, he went to visit him, spent two years in his house and became his friend, disciple and first expounder. He wrote the *Narratio Prima* while staying with Copernicus—the Protestant scholar and the Catholic canon bound together by a common interest in astronomy—and published it in 1540. This able and quasi-official introduction to Copernicanism was so favorably received that a second edition was called for the next year and perhaps this persuaded the master to publish his own *magnum opus.* The Copernicus literature is voluminous, but Mr. Rosen's well edited volume furnishes the closest contact with the original material that is available in English.

Books Received

The Minister's Annual. Compiled and edited by Joseph McCray Ramsey. Revell. This is the twelfth annual volume in this series by the editor of the *Expositor and Homiletic Review.* It contains four sermons for each week, besides suggestions for worship services and an exposition of each Sunday school lesson of the International series.

The Church of England. By Herbert Hensley Henson. Macmillan, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Radiant Quest. By Grace Noll Crowell. Harpers, $1.50. A volume of poems. (To be published Feb. 20.)

Britain Goes to War. By N. Scarlyn Wilson. Revell, $1.00. The title on the title page is as given, but the running head over each page reads, "A United People Goes to War." The object is

to show that Britain is a united people in this time of trial, and to indicate how it feels to be a member of a nation at war and what is the reaction of the masses of the people to this particular war. They see it, apparently, just as the government wants them to see it—as a purely idealistic and disinterested enterprise. "We have consulted our conscience and it is clear."

Woman With Alabaster. By Mabel Goode Frantz. Revell, $1.25. A smoothly written and edifying story of Mary Magdalen, whom the author identifies with the sister of Mary and Lazarus and makes a former object of the affections of John the son of Zebedee.

John Wesley as Editor and Author. By Thomas Walter Herbert. Princeton University Press, $1.75. (To be reviewed.)

Two Minutes with God, A Book of Devotions for Homes with Children. By Paul J. Hoh and Philip R. Hoh. Cokesbury, $1.50. This comes close to being unique. In spite of all that is said about the importance of family devotions and all the volumes of devotional manuals that are published, it is hard to lay hands on a book for family devotions prepared with the specific intent of making it fit the minds and needs of children. This is such a book. Yet it does not talk down. It is clear, direct, sensible, interesting and devotional.

Sermons on the Inner Life. By Charles H. Heimsath. Cokesbury, $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

Milestones of the Drama. By Helen Louise Cohen. Harcourt, $2.50. The full text of seven great plays, from Sophocles to Eugene O'Neill, with introductions and bibliographies. (To be published Feb. 15.)

The Loon Feather, A Novel. By Iola Fuller. Harcourt, $2.50. (To be published Feb. 22.)

Three Plays on Peace. Compiled by Harold A. Ehrensperger. Abingdon Press, 25 cents. Three one-act plays, suitable for use by amateur groups in churches or elsewhere. They are: "Family Plot," "Tonight in Bethlehem" and "Martyr's Return." The last has the unusual distinction of having been rewritten in the light of audience reaction after being produced in many places by Wesley Players, a national student dramatic society.

The Sacrament of Reunion. By Cyril Charles Richardson. Scribners, $1.25. The discussion concerns the proposed concordat between the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches and the issues which it involves. As a teacher of church history, Dr. Richardson is particularly concerned with the historical aspects of those issues. His competent treatment of the early ministry of the church—"what we know" about it and "what we guess"—should in itself go a long way toward making the concordat possible, especially since it comes from the Episcopal side. A very able little book by the author of *The Church Through the Centuries.*

Trails to the New America. By John W. Herring. Harpers, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Days of My Life, Memories of a Kansas Mother and Teacher. By Flo V. Menninger. Richard R. Smith, $2.50. Old enough to have been present (as an infant in arms) when Lincoln made his Gettysburg speech, a migrant from Pennsylvania to Kansas in the next decade, Mrs. Menninger has seen great changes. The record of her own experiences and observations is a case study of American life in the middle west from then till now.

In the Teeth of the Evidence and Other Stories. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harcourt, $2.50. (To be published Feb. 15.)

Paths of Peace. By Patience Strong. Dutton, 50 cents. Prose to the eye but verse to the ear. (To be published Feb. 15.)

The Scout Program in Protestant Churches. Protestant Committee on Scouting, 2 Park Ave., New York, 15 cents. "A manual of practical procedures related to the program of the church."

The Key to the Psalms. By Sylvester Vernon Williams. Chapman & Grimes, Boston, $1.25. Devotional and historical commentary on the Psalms. There is no particular "key" except adherence to the Davidic authorship of most of them and observing the division into five books, which are called, "Psalms of David's Early and Middle Life," "Psalms of David's Later Life," "National Odes," "God Is King," "The Hymnbook of the Second Temple."

Have You Lost God? By Winfred Rhoades. Lippincott, $1.00. A guide to the search for God through experience. Well thought and earnestly written.

The Shrine of Beauty and Other Poems. By Mary A. Hurd. Chapman & Grimes, Boston, $1.50. First published in 1935, this volume of graceful verse is reissued following the untimely death of the gifted young author.

CORRESPONDENCE

Community Cooperation the Way to Good Will

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your brief editorial comment on Brotherhood Week (January 17), in which you refer to the "Campaign for Christ in Jasper County," was so splendidly pointed that it might well have been expanded. Is not this "the real thing" because Protestants and Catholics, instead of gathering to *discover* what ground they held in common as a possible basis for a later cooperative project, rather gathered having first *assumed* certain common ground on which to undertake this specific cooperative program so urgently needed? They did not say, "Go to, now, let us be brothers!" They said, "Here is a need. We, who are already brothers, can answer it together!"

So with the larger program of Christians and Jews. In our local service organization, I served recently as chairman of a program combining the observance of both Christmas and Hannukah, with the mutually appropriate theme of good will dominant. Except for those professing Christians and Jews whose feelings of sympathy were already deep-rooted, the program did not mean as much as many a community project engaged in by a committee of Protestants, Catholics and Jews, chosen not to "represent all faiths fairly" but irrespective of any, acting together in the face of a common need.

Truly, I believe, if we observe Brotherhood Week by saying to each other, "Come now, let us forget our differences and be brothers," those very differences, so much exploited in the world today, will be only further accentuated. If, however, we can find needs in which we have a common interest, then take our brotherhood for granted and act together to fill those needs, we shall accomplish much of "the real thing."

"If we can find needs" indeed; the world is full of them!

First Baptist Church, HAROLD W. RICHARDSON.
Herkimer, N. Y.

Another Junior Church

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The discussion of the relation between the church and religious education which has been going on in your columns is of vital interest to many of us. It confirms my own growing feeling that the dissatisfaction with the traditional Sunday school is general and profound.

Of special interest to me was the letter by L. O. Bricker of Atlanta, because of the similarity of his young people's church to our junior church, which is now in its fourth year. Our junior church includes children between the ages of nine and fifteen, inclusive. The organization and order of service closely parallel those of the senior church. The juniors elect their own deacons, deaconesses, clerk, ushers, finance and chancel committees, etc., and have their own vested choir. The minister conducts the formal service of worship, assisted each week by a deacon or deaconess. The emphasis is upon worship. The church hymnals are used. The service is held in the sanctuary. The teaching of the year

follows a general theme: Old Testament, life of Jesus, life of St. Paul or history of the church, and is given in the introduction to the scripture lesson or in the sermon. Occasionally the sermon deals with questions asked by the juniors through the question box. The number of these questions and their quality, their sincerity and penetration, have been a surprise and an inspiration.

Most of the juniors do not stay to the eleven o'clock service of worship. Most of them never did. Too many of the parents are not church attendants. But their children are now receiving a *church,* not a *class,* experience. They are growing up to feel at home and reverent in the church, to know its hymns and prayers, to assume its responsibilities, and to feel that the minister is *their* minister. At the conclusion of their term in the junior church they are encouraged to join the minister's Lenten preparatory class and to become members of the church. This tradition is growing in effectiveness as the years go by.

To provide for the personal contact between the church and the home which the church school teacher, if conscientious, formerly represented, we have organized a junior church calling committee of mothers who systematically look after absentees and make a friendly call once a year at each home represented in the junior church.

After three and a half years our parish is "sold" on the junior church. I believe that the method will work in a parish of any size. Several smaller churches in this vicinity have adopted it. Our junior church has an enrollment of 200 and an average attendance of 140.

For this plan we are indebted to Rev. Dan Huntington Fenn of the divinity school of Harvard University and of the First Church, Unitarian, Chestnut Hill. Mr. Fenn has published a rewarding pamphlet on "An Outline of the Theory and Practice of a Junior Church."

Highlands Congregational Church, JOHN H. LEAMON.
Melrose, Mass.

Truth and Action

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: If one may judge by the amount of space required to print the letters sent to The Christian Century in reply to the *Fortune* article and your approving editorial, you have stirred up a great variety of opinion on a very important subject about which both clergy and laymen could well do some constructive thinking. My criticism of these letters is that they are practically all given to destructive criticism. If ever a group of preachers evaded an issue these men have done so.

The question raised in the article in *Fortune* is not particularly and peculiarly a problem of our preachers but they must take the lead in attempting to solve it. After all they speak every week; what do they say? Many preachers who have met the issue squarely and have said what their consciences and reason have dictated, for the most part have won the respect of their hearers. If a preacher knows his subject and states facts in a clear and comprehensive way he can utter just about what he wants to say in the pulpit. The laymen may not agree with it, and may fume and object, but not many men in these days will deny that a preacher has the right of free speech on any moral issue. Too many of the clergy are actually afraid of the pew. They may not admit it but they so dislike to offend some brother whose conception of the philosophy of Christ is as vague as that of an African Hottentot, that they do not speak at all.

To believe in a truth and then follow through to the acceptance of its implications are two entirely different things. One may believe in democracy but to accept the implications of democracy and to practice them is another thing entirely. One may believe implicitly in the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man but try to follow through the implications of this doctrine and see where you come out in this acquisitive, selfish and pagan capitalistic society.

It is high time and the day is not far distant when a Christian disciple must determine whether he will be loyal to Christ or to a society which has nothing whatever in common with the Christian religion. "Ye cannot serve two masters." How many men in business will stand up and say, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord"?

The writer knows full well what it costs to do this. Our economic system was here when we business men arrived on the scene and we must live and do business under it. But we can raise our voices in meetings of boards of directors, stockholders' meetings and chamber of commerce meetings, in condemnation of every practice in society which is evil. Instead of that we remain silent and tacitly approve of what is being done. The biggest moral coward in our society is the Christian business man.

The *Fortune* article is timely and it speaks the minds of millions of churchmen who will not express themselves lest someone charge them with being disloyal to their class.

Denver, Colo. WILLIAM E. SWEET.

Seeking for a Sign?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: *Fortune* in a very real way out-argues itself. A good part of its argument is based on the failure of the church at the time of the Civil and World War. *Fortune* claims the church failed because it had, for these periods, no absolute word of God. But a truer conclusion would be that it failed because it deified the relative truths of men into the absolute word of God. It failed because it did exactly what *Fortune* wants done today; it preached "absolutes" that were in reality "relatives" (which after all is all that mortal man has) which permitted the church to sanction these wars as the will of God. And we would be at war within three months if the clergy followed the technique advocated by *Fortune.*

You see, in truth, what *Fortune* wants is what the spiritually ignorant have always wanted of religion. They ask for a "sign." People did the same in the time of Jesus, but he did not give it, because it was not his to give. And it is to the everlasting credit of the clergy that they have given us no "signs," and that they recognize that such assurances or signs, if I may use the word, come only to those who seek and come primarily through the process of seeking.

The Christian Century would do a far greater service to the church if instead of printing spectacular but shallow articles of criticism, it would help direct at this time the conscious cry of the Christian world for a certainty that is intelligible. For assuredly nothing will be gained by pitting ignorant clergy against wise laymen, or vice versa; but much will be accomplished if, recognizing the impossibility of ever knowing God's Absolute Will, and realizing as never before the humility with which all our thoughts must be clothed, we may be gathered together in a fellowship of those who patiently seek for truth.

Congregational Church, GEORGE C. VANCE.
Mitchell, S. Dak.

Self-Righteous Ecclesiasticism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: After reading the number of adverse reactions to the article in *Fortune* and especially the criticisms of your recent editorial, I am more convinced than ever of the fairness of *Fortune's* accusation against the church. Unwittingly, your many critics have supported *Fortune's* article. These are the same kind of replies that the Pharisees of old would have made to the condemnations of Jesus. They show, also, how ecclesiastical pride has been substituted for a sense of mission.

What if business is to blame for the present chaotic condition of our world? What if laymen do not appreciate the fact that churches have often dodged their responsibility in the present world by hiding behind absolutes? Can the church wash her hands and disclaim all responsibility of being an ineffective force for good in the social relationships of men, just because she has the ability to look down her nose at those who have not been "quite" as righteous as she?

Self-righteous ecclesiasticism is the very nub of this whole matter. I am still enough of an evangelical to want to welcome a repentant business man who wishes to join me before the mercy

seat, just as I would a social outcast. If my memory serves me correctly Jesus welcomed a hated tax gatherer as well as a Mary Magdalen to his little group of followers. It does not seem possible that the church of today has degenerated to the place where its sole interest is in upholding the dignity and rightness of ecclesiastical superiority.

It would be the height of sentimentalism to take *Fortune's* article as indicative of the honest repentance of business; but no pharisaical churchman has ever saved a world.

Church of the Redeemer, H. Otheman Smith.
Yonkers, N. Y.

There Are Canadians and Canadians

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Your Canadian staff correspondents are pretty sure from their busy centers and larger communities to reflect the attitudes of the sort of community they represent and the type of leadership they subscribe to. It is a good thing you have that kind of correspondent on the staff of your outspoken journal. Some of us object, however, to the sweeping way in which your Canadian staff writers sum up the Canadian and the United Church views of the present war. We remember that both the governments of our church and our state took away our right to choose whether we would sit in the balcony or freely participate. There are a large number of Christian people, of this part anyway, who have no heart or conscience for the present European struggle. Our Parliament will hear of it in a few days. Our church courts do not meet for some months.

Here is one thing of which some of us must complain. They urge that pacifism smacks of a do-nothing kind of neutrality, or "a flight from reality." We have noticed that the very folk who now accuse of that attitude were quite generally apathetic or uninterested in the fight we have been making during many years, for a social order that would give assurance of peace by understanding and justice.

It seems more than a bit thick when we are made the butt of attack for alleged flight from reality, after we had been formerly castigated for being too much addicted to the social gospel and to political movements that would circumvent war. Smokescreens are the order of the day, and we do not wish to be completely misrepresented.

High River, Alta. Arthur H. Rowe.

The 'New Republic' and the War

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I have received a letter from Mr. Bruce Bliven, one of the editors of the *New Republic,* which requires an answer in your columns. The letter follows:

"In an article in The Christian Century of November 22, 1939, you say: 'The *New Republic,* founded in 1914, had, as its avowed purpose, the educating of the liberals to the Allied approach.'

"This statement is wholly false. The plans for establishing the *New Republic* were completed before the war began and at a time when no one contemplated any such conflict. The ownership of the paper and its entire editorial board was American in fact and outlook.

"It is true that at the time the United States entered the war, the *New Republic* editorially supported participation in the conflict. It did so because of an honest conviction of the editors that an Allied victory was consonant with a just peace. As soon as the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were made public, they were repudiated by the magazine, at a sacrifice of nearly half of its subscribers.

"In view of the fact that you have made a false and damaging statement regarding the *New Republic* I must ask that a correction be published in the columns of The Christian Century."

My remark relative to the founding of the *New Republic* was based upon a statement made by C. Hartley Grattan in his *Why We Fought* (page 49): ". . . the *New Republic* was founded in 1914 for the express purpose of setting American liberals right on the war. . . ." Since receiving Mr. Bliven's letter I have been in correspondence with Mr. Grattan who informs me that if *Why We Fought* had gone into a second edition he would have rephrased this statement.

In the light of Mr. Bliven's correction, no doubt I was wrong as to the *original* motive for the founding of the *New Republic* and am sorry for having contributed to spreading such an error. It is curious that in neither the review of Mr. Grattan's *Why We Fought* nor of my book, *Preachers Present Arms,* which appeared in the *New Republic,* did the reviewers refer to material related to the *New Republic.*

Whatever may have been the original intention in the minds of the founders of the *New Republic,* there can be no question that long before April 1917, the magazine became favorably disposed toward the Allied cause.

University of Pennsylvania, Ray H. Abrams.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Invitation to the Death Dance

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: I think you have been unjustifiably generous in your interpretation of Lord Lothian's Chicago speech. What was it but another sugared and flattering invitation to the United States to enter the war on Britain's side?

Who are the democracies that will ordain and participate in that beautiful and just control of the seas after the Great Monster has been blown out of the water? In addition to Britain and France, none other than Uncle Sam. Bless my soul! When you come to think of it in that light, why don't we begin the great objective right now?

Don't you see, gentlemen (asks Lord Lothian in effect), that, since these are our war aims, we are fighting mankind's fight? And of course you are on mankind's side too. Why don't you dull witted Americans wake up to the true spiritual significance of what is happening in Europe these days? Why, it's really Armageddon; and this time Britain is writing the Fourteen Points.

Canton, N. Y. Hugh S. Tigner.

The Movies Remain a Controversial Subject

Editor The Christian Century:

SIR: Fred Eastman reviews in your issue of January 3 my *America at the Movies* from the point of view of the Motion Picture Research Council. He is disturbed by my "naive and uncritical acceptance" of my sources. He thinks that I am, whether or not I am conscious of the fact, a tool of the Hays office. I think Mr. Eastman might be interested in a review of the book by Mr. Joseph Coughlin, in the *Motion Picture Herald* for November 25. (The *Motion Picture Herald,* edited and published by Martin Quigley, one of the authors of the industry's production code, is of course an important voice of Mr. Hays' Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America.) Mr. Coughlin finds me "naive and gullible" in my attitude towards the industry. Would it be "naive" of me to suppose that those coincidental "naives" from diametrically opposed writers equal the "impartial" which is the adjective that has been most frequently applied to the book by other critics?

I will not occupy your space with detailed answers to all Mr. Eastman's specific criticisms, though I should be glad to give them to him if he is interested. I should like to say, however, that if he will take the trouble to read the chapter on "Propaganda," and will read with a little more care the chapters on "The Industry" and "Reforming the Movies," which he has apparently looked into, he will find the "attention to the demands of the serious critics—the demands for a greater sense of social responsibility among the producers, for more honesty and less sentimentality in pictures," etc., for which he was looking. I should like also to suggest that he reread a sentence in the text facing the large and smiling picture of Mr. Will Hays: "His somewhat curious qualifications as a reformer did not become generally known until the 1928 Senate investigation of the Teapot Dome scandal disclosed his complacent use for the Republican campaign chest of funds supplied by the notorious Harry Sinclair." Mr. Eastman

may then grasp, as my other readers, lay and professional, have done, that the portrait of Mr. Hays was introduced in that chapter in irony. But irony, I am afraid, is a literary quality to which Mr. Eastman is wholly insensitive. He seems not to have recognized its presence anywhere in the book, even though the publishers took pains to point it out to him by their remarks on the jacket. The only two places where he seems to have read between the lines are my oblique references to the Motion Picture Research Council. He has apparently sensed my not too high opinion of the Payne studies, instituted by the council, and he is right in conjecturing that, unlike the council, I believe block-booking to be not a moral or social issue but a problem in industrial monopoly. (He would have been more consistent in this connection if he had written me down a tool not of Will Hays but of Thurman Arnold.)

Personally I am on the whole obliged to Mr. Eastman for his review but I feel very strongly—and I am speaking now in plain English without any irony whatsoever—that he owes an apology to the Yale University Press for the unwarranted attack in his last paragraph. When a book expresses disapproval of your point of view the assumption need not be that writer and publisher are in the pay of your opponents. I cannot believe that that paragraph of Mr. Eastman's appeared in your pages except by an oversight.

Princeton, N. J. MARGARET FARRAND THORP.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mrs. Thorp's displeasure at my review of her well written book is understandable. I, too, would have been happier if I could have said more pleasant things about it. I did read it from cover to cover and gave it what I thought was an honest appraisal. If I misinterpreted a passage or two which she wrote in irony, I apologize for my stupidity. But the main point of my criticism still holds, namely, that there is hardly a paragraph in the whole book whose material would not have been gladly supplied by the Hays office. In her own Foreword she singles out this office for her particular thanks for supplying information. The scanty acknowledgment she makes of the demands of the serious critics of the industry seems completely buried under the mass of her other material. One looks in vain through her pages for any reference to such critics as Gilbert Seldes, George Jean Nathan, Frank S. Nugent, Guy Emery Shipler, E. C. Sherburne, W. W. Charters and Edgar Dale. I agree with her that block-booking is a problem in industrial monopoly. But if monopoly is not a social and moral issue, what is it?

Chicago. FRED EASTMAN.

Schools Open to All

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial, "Sectarianism in a Public School," in the January 17 issue of The Christian Century, I fear your zeal to defend the non-sectarian public school system of America may lead to the charge of an anti-Catholic bias against The Christian Century. Since such attitudes are particularly dangerous at this time, and since from the tenor of the editorial immediately following this one, on Christian brotherhood, I do not believe you meant to infer what you did, let me speak my experience in obtaining the use of our public school property.

At least on one occasion I have with others applied for the use of the high school auditorium. That use has been granted, though I knew the city administration was not in sympathy with the ideas to be presented in the meeting. Because of a regard for our traditional American liberties of free speech and free assemblage, I believe our city fathers have pursued the wise course of granting to all responsible groups in the community who had the requisite rental the privilege of the public schools in the evening. To my knowledge, not only civic groups which are generally recognized as "respectable" have been allowed to use public property, but also socialist and communist meetings have been held in the school property. Now, at a time when wartime hysteria is forcing an abrogation of such rights in so many places, I must register my opposition to your editorial in seeing in this granting of permission to our Catholic brethren to the use of our schools an attempt to proselytize the non-Catholic community by quasi surreptitious and unethical means. If the policy which our board of education has adhered to in the past be continued, then any group, irrespective of political or religious belief, should have the same rights.

May I suggest that probably there is nothing more sinister in the fact that the Protestant school of religious education is meeting in a Protestant parish house than that its authorities saw no reason to pay our city treasury $27 a night which it did not have to.

Summerfield Methodist Church, J. GEORGE BUTLER.
New Haven, Conn.

Only One Question?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: All arguments as to whether or not Jesus would sanction war are irrelevant. There is only one question for Christians to face before drawing their own conclusions. The question is, Can any of us visualize Jesus of Nazareth killing anybody? If not, then what?

Sewanee, Tenn. WINIFRED KIRKLAND.

From the Watch and Ward Society

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In a recent number of The Christian Century the author of a series of interesting articles on "Preachers Present Arms" permitted himself to write as follows: "The psychic drives that in peacetime produce the phenomena of inquisitions, witch-burnings and Watch and Ward Societies." It is possible that this was merely a rhetorical flourish of the pen. If so, it is to be regretted that the author was not able, in the interest of justice and accuracy, to exercise a greater restraint. It is just possible, however, that he felt that the methods employed by the New England Watch and Ward Society are essentially similar to those used by the inquisition and by witch-hunters. If so, he is in need of some enlightenment.

The fact that such men as Joseph Lee, "the father of American playgrounds," and Endicott Peabody of Groton have been for long officers of the society and firm believers in its work may make the author feel that he wrote too hastily. If not, we shall be glad to send him a copy of our annual report, which shows that our work is done by request of officers of the law and on complaint of individual citizens. People may not like us, but at least we are entitled to fair dealing.

Cambridge, Mass. RAYMOND CALKINS.

Movie Estimates

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am very disappointed that you have taken out the movie reviews from The Christian Century. I am a little girl eleven years old and my mother and daddy let me go to the movies you suggest, and what am I to do now?

Ann Arbor, Mich. MARY ALMENA GRAY.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Just a word to p-r-o-test! I hope you are not going to discontinue the film estimate service from the pages of The Christian Century. It is one of the journal's very valuable services to subscribers. I have used it personally with great satisfaction, and also this would be true of interested church groups here in my own church. So we hope this feature is not to be discontinued.

First Baptist Church, DELAINE E. STORY.
Pottstown, Pa.

[Let the scores of readers who have written similar letters be reassured. The Christian Century has been conducting a test to discover whether the space devoted to reviews of current feature films is wisely used. The chorus of protest against disappearance of the reviews has provided a convincing answer to our question. Comments on current films will reappear beginning with next week's issue.—THE EDITORS.]

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

German Churches Must Pay for War

Religious Funds Levied Upon by Göring Decree—No Religious Literature for Soldiers—A War Book a Week

(Correspondence from Western Europe)

BRUSSELS, Dec. 30.—A monthly contribution toward the cost of the war is levied on the Catholic and Evangelical churches in Germany. Payments have had to be made as from the first of last November. The levy resulted from the decree issued by Göring on war economy. Municipalities have to make a monthly payment and churches are handled in the same way. Notes are made up for each church or diocese on the basis of its membership and budget; a total sum of about $350,000 in United States money is expected every month. Not only churches as such, but religious organizations, including missionary societies, monasteries, convents and special funds, are subject to the levy. Although the money was contributed to the church and religious movements for specific purposes, the government is taking a share of it for war. The levy cannot be made up out of new contributions because of the poverty-stricken condition of the people, and can be handed to the authorities only by cutting drastically all expenditures for normal religious activity.

* * *

Religious Literature for Soldiers Banned

Das Schwarze Korps and other nazi organs are excited and indignant because religious pamphlets are being sent to soldiers at the front with quotations from the Old Testament. World Jewry started the war, say the nazis, and now the military spirit is being sapped by distribution of the Jewish Scriptures among the fighting forces. Consternation was expressed in nazi circles when the crew of a returned U-boat received church literature quoting the Bible and implying that these heroes were "sinners." Hence a huge press campaign against such crude religious tactics has been launched, and Herr Kerrl, the reich minister for ecclesiastical affairs, has informed the churches that it is *verboten* to make lists of church members at the front and to send them religious literature.

* * *

Making Hitler Youth War-Minded

A war book every week for Hitler youth is the new aim of the reich youth leader, Herr Baldur von Shirach. Fiction, along with eyewitness reports from the campaign in Poland, are in the earlier numbers of this "War Library" series, and air warfare, together with numerous stories from the Siegfried line, are soon to appear. The price is cheap and a great drive is on to boost the circulation to high figures. It has become the custom—nurtured as part of nazi propaganda—for heads of industrial firms to give a book every Christmas to their apprentices. The joker is that the book can't be selected by the boss or the recipient but is chosen by von Schirach and Dr. Ley, labor front leader. The choice for 1939 was a novel about the World War, specially adapted "for the necessities of our time," by an ultra-militarist author, Werner Beumelburg.

* * *

Pacifist Deprived of Nationality

Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, who has played a leading role in the international peace movement, and who is well known in the United States, has been deprived of his German nationality by a nazi decree. In a list of 164 names of those whose official status as German citizens has been terminated also appeared the names of Dr. Solzbacher's wife and three children. When Hitler came to power, Dr. Solzbacher was on a lecture tour in the U. S. A. When he returned to Germany he found it was better to leave at once, and since then he has lived in other countries. He was one of the lecturers of the American Peoples College in Europe, has led American study tours on the Continent, and is a member of the international council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The immediate reason for the nazi action was apparently the publication of a new book by Dr. Solzbach, in several languages, on the late Pope Pius XI and his attitude toward bolshevism, fascism and the nazi movement.

* * *

All Germans Are Not War-Mad

The Leipzig Lutheran Missionary Society has just brought down on itself the wrath of *Das Schwarze Korps*—the paper of Herr Himmler, head of the nazi secret police—because it sent out a circular to its friends and backers informing them that German missionaries in British colonies and mandated territories are well treated. In Tanganyika, according to the leaflet, all German religious workers have been left in freedom and many allowed to continue their former work because they had been a very few were refused permission to do their former work because they had been unwilling to sign a declaration that they would not take part in anti-British activities. Those who did sign are castigated as traitors by *Das Schwarze Korps,* which is equally disturbed that there are Germans willing to say good things about the English even if unquestionably true. This, and other cases cited above, are only a few of the numerous bits of evidence one finds in war-torn Europe that not all Germans are giving way to the war spirit, and that under the nazi pressure many are trying to keep truth and good will alive.

DEVERE ALLEN.

Tittle to Deliver Merrick Lectures

Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, of the First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill., will deliver the annual Merrick lectures at Ohio Wesleyan University, beginning April 14.

Cleveland Plans Lenten Advance

Denominational Leaders Lead Conferences—Aftermath of Relief Emergency—Women's Pay Too Low

(Correspondence from Cleveland)

CLEVELAND, Jan. 22.—Cleveland's denominational associations have embarked upon busy programs looking forward to the Lenten season. During the past week Presbyterians and Baptists have entertained teams of denominational officials and missionaries, who stressed evangelism for men, women and young people. Evening meetings drew large congregations to hear Dr. S. Franklin Mack of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and Dr. Elmer A. Fridell, president of the Northern Baptist Convention. Tomorrow Congregationalists gather to hear Dr. Dwight Bradley and Dr. Douglas Horton, National Council executives. Methodists of the Cleveland district are preparing for a visit by four bishops of the church on Feb. 15. The emergency conference of the United Council for Christian Democracy will be held this week, and the Cleveland church federation will begin its "year of preparation" for its National Christian Mission in 1941 on Ash Wednesday.

* * *

Social Workers' Report Reveals Unpleasant Facts

Although the relief emergency which has given Cleveland undesirable publicity has largely subsided with the availability of new funds, the problem has been kept before the public by a carefully documented report of 374 cases, issued by social workers from 29 public and private agencies. In addition the city relief administration has announced a continuous program of study and self-criticism in the interest of efficiency and economy. The social workers' report is not pretty reading. It shows clearly the suffering and privation endured by families and individuals when their sub-standard relief allowances are further reduced or cut off. It indicates the confusion that arises when an administrative staff is reduced beyond the point of minimum attention to clients. While there were apparently no deaths resulting directly from the breakdown, there were undoubtedly hunger and want.

* * *

Survey Shows Women's Pay Too Low

A survey published by the Consumers' League of Ohio places the self-supporting salary of an employed woman in Cleveland at $20.27 a week, or $87.84 a month. The booklet discloses the fact that starting salaries rarely reach this amount. Figures supplied by employment agencies place compensation for beginning waitresses at $10 per week, plus tips and two daily meals; for department store clerks at $16; for variety or dime stores, at $12 to $14.50; for beauticians at $15, and for stenogra-

phers at $40 to $75 per month. The league recently announced an investigation of working conditions and pay in the beauty shops of the city.

* * *

Protestant Clergy Hear Noted Rabbis

For the fifth successive year the Cleveland clergy were guests last Monday of the Euclid Avenue Temple and Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner for a profitable seminar on Judaism. Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof of Pittsburgh gave a scholarly exposition on the contributions of the Jewish prayer book to Christianity, and Dr. Jacob R. Marcus of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, spoke on the Jewish contribution to American life. This yearly seminar, with its freedom in questions and discussion, is a wholesome expression of the fine Jewish-Christian relationships here.

* * *

School Bloc Acts to Perpetuate Itself

In its most daring and blatant coup since coming into power, the political bloc of five members which dominates the Cleveland board of education acted last Monday to keep itself in power for at least four years. The ruse was accomplished by accepting the resignation of former president John E. O'Donnell, then immediately electing him to the four-year vacancy created by the death of Mrs. Mary B. Martin. Mrs. Martin, one of Cleveland's most highly respected Negro citizens, broke through the bloc's slate in the November election. The strenuous campaign, in which she was subjected to much verbal abuse, is thought by many to have hastened her death. Mr. O'Donnell, who was an unsuccessful November candidate for mayor, had two years still to serve on the school board.

* * *

And So Forth

A seemingly endless line of citizens filed past Dr. Jacob H. Goldner at a public reception on the evening of Jan. 10 to congratulate him upon the completion of 40 years as pastor of Euclid Avenue Christian Church.

Schauffler College, Cleveland's unique school of social and religious work for women, is entering a campaign for $60,000 for expansion of its work.

Lyndhurst Community Church, a suburban congregation, is to have a new building as a result of a memorial gift of $10,000 by Mrs. Chester C. Bolton, widow of the late congressman.

Mrs. Margaret H. Hawkins, Schauffler College instructor and experienced social worker, became associate secretary for social work for the Cleveland church federation on Jan. 1. She is supported by the Cleveland Council of Federated Church Women.

East Shore Methodist Church, damaged by fire several months ago, is seeking $50,000 to erect a new building.

Ground has been broken for the new St. Mark's Episcopal Church at Lorain avenue and Triskett road.

Harold S. Gray, conscientious objector during the World War, whose story appeared in *Character Bad*, was the principal speaker in the year-end conference of the Cuyahoga County Christian Youth Council.

O. M. Walton.

Emphasize War Responsibility

32 Church Leaders Issue Declaration Calling on United States to Discriminate Between Warring Nations

(Special Correspondence)

New York, Jan. 22.—Thirty-two prominent Christian leaders, some clerical and some lay, have adopted a declaration on the relation of the American churches to the war for which they seek additional signatures. The signers include William Adams Brown, C. C. Burlingham, Henry Sloane Coffin, John Foster Dulles, Sherwood Eddy, Charles W. Gilkey, Henry W. Hobson, Ivan Lee Holt, Douglas Horton, Lynn Harold Hough, W. P. Ladd, John W. Langdale, Mildred McAfee, John Mackay, F. J. McConnell, Elizabeth C. Morrow, John R. Mott, W. A. Neilson, Reinhold Niebuhr (who is generally credited with the declaration's authorship), Justin Wroe Nixon, G. Bromley Oxnam, Edward L. Parsons, Howard C. Robbins, William Scarlett, Charles Seymour, H. K. Sherrill, Robert E. Speer, Charles P. Taft, Norris W. Tibbetts, Henry St. George Tucker, Henry P. Van Dusen and Henry M. Wriston.

The full text of the declaration is as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Christian church in America, desire to state our common convictions on the bearing of the Christian faith upon the present international conflicts and the relation of the United States to them. We are moved to do this partly because of our dissent from a position advanced by many who are regarded as spokesmen for the churches, which seems to us to be due to intellectual confusion and to tend toward moral callousness and national self-righteousness and irresponsibility. That position is that, since all war is unchristian, Christians in neutral nations should not discriminate between belligerents. It implies that Christian citizens of nations at war are disloyal to their Christian faith if they give support to their governments or armies. It ignores the reality of relative but important distinctions between the contending parties.

Interpreting the War

"In contrast we offer the following interpretation:

"1. For the ultimate causes of the conflicts in both Europe and Asia all nations, including our own, must share responsibility.

"2. This admission of common guilt as regards the origins of the present wars must not blind us to the incalculable issues at stake in the outcome of these wars. A distinction must always be made between moral accountability for conditions leading to war and moral obligation to deal with those conditions and their threatening consequences. In the present conflicts all nations are moved largely by national self-interest. But the fact that all are involved in a sinful situation, and that human justice is never perfect or human motives wholly pure, cannot excuse Christians from seeking such justice as is attainable. Discriminate moral judgments are of the essence of the Christian's task in life.

"More particularly, an interpretation of the present conflicts as merely a clash of rival imperialisms can spring only from ignorance or moral confusion. The basic distinction between civilizations in which justice and freedom are still realities and those in which they have been displaced by ruthless tyranny cannot be ignored. To equate what the soviet republics are doing in Finland and what the Finns are doing to defend their liberties is to deny all ethical discriminations for the sake of a purely abstract perfection. To suggest that nothing of consequence is at stake in the success of Japanese, German and Russian designs on China, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Baltic states, or in the successful resistance of these latter nations, is to be guilty of moral irresponsibility. A victory for the Allied powers or for China would not of itself assure the establishment of justice and peace, but the victory of Germany, Russia or Japan would inevitably preclude the justice, freedom of thought and worship and international cooperation which are fundamental to a Christian world order. Therefore, Christians in neutral countries cannot evade the ethical issues involved and the consequent claim upon their sympathy and support.

Respect for Pacifists

"3. Christians throughout the world are agreed that 'war is a particular demonstration of the power of sin in the world. . . . No justification of war must be allowed to conceal or minimize this fact' (Oxford Conference Report). Christians are divided as to the response which individuals and churches should make when their nation becomes involved in armed conflict. In every recent world conference of the churches two alternative positions have been recognized as equally conscientious, honorable and worthy of respect. Some Christians, holding that the use of violence in international relations is always sinful, declare that they can have no part in it. We respect the sincerity of those who hold this view and are ready to defend them against forcible constraint or persecution. Others, equally honest and peace-loving, believe that when Christians are convinced that their nation is engaged in resistance to aggression or in defense of international order they must obey its call. Throughout Christian history the latter has been the view of the majority in the churches. We believe it is so today.

"It is mistaken to suggest that Christians have no alternative between total abstention from war on the one hand and the proclamation of a 'holy war' on the other. We record with gratitude that many Christians in warring nations are facing this issue with a high sense of responsibility, are keeping alive the reality of a Christian community transcending all divisions, are cultivating contrition for the common guilt in which all nations share, are even now preparing for just and lasting peace, and are exalting, in the very midst of terrific conflict, the Christ whom no nation can claim as peculiarly its own.

"4. The churches in the United States are under no obligation to lead their nation to assume a responsible relationship to the present conflicts. This must begin with recognizing that the freedom from

war which the United States now enjoys is not due to greater devotion to peace or superior moral excellence, but mainly to geographic security. It is no occasion for self-righteousness, but rather for thanksgiving and the assumption of a larger responsibility in the works of mercy and the building of peace.

Responsibility of United States

"The United States cannot hope to have a part in determining a just and stable peace unless, during the conflicts, she proves herself alive to the deeper issues involved, sympathetic with the warring peoples in their bitter struggles, and prepared to make her contribution to a better future. That contribution cannot be merely in terms of moral preachments and lofty ideals for the conduct of other nations, but rather of responsible national participation in the long and painful task of peaceful reconstruction.

"The best elements in all belligerent nations are hoping and praying for a new international order. That order must promise to every people, aggressors no less than victims of aggression, justice, opportunity and the realization of legitimate aspirations. No lesson from recent history is clearer than that such an order is impossible unless every nation is ready to accept some limitation upon unqualified national action in the interests of the welfare of all peoples. We believe that it is the business of the Christian church in neutral as well as in warring nations to prepare their people for the necessary sacrifices and responsibilities. For this sacrifice of a measure of national self-interest to the higher ideal of the community of nations, the American people must be prepared. Here is the special task and obligation of Christian leadership at the present time.

"These obligations spring from the very heart of Christian faith. That faith commits us to the ideal of a community of nations, designed to arrest the anarchy of nations and to raise the life of all peoples to a new level of security, and to recognition of the claims of humanity as superior to al particular national loyalties."

Additional signatures to this document are being gathered by Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, Union Theological Seminary, New York city.

To Rally Missionaries Behind President's Peace Program

Presiding Bishop Tucker of the Episcopal Church, Emory Ross of the Foreign Missions Conference, and James M. Speers, treasurer-emeritus of that body, recently visited the White House and laid before the President a plan to rally 10,000 Protestant missionaries in a "Christian foreign service convocation" to give support to the President's peace plans. The President was reported to have looked on the proposal with favor.

Organize to Perpetuate Southern Methodism

The South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was organized at Columbia, S. C., recently by 400 delegates representing congregations which have refused to enter the united Methodist Church.

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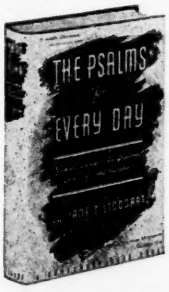

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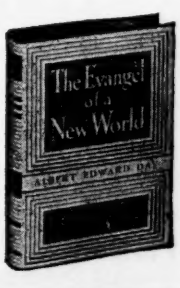

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Christian Front Accused of Plot

Federal Authorities Arrest 17 Members as Terrorists—John Haynes Holmes Retracts Views on Soviet Russia

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Jan. 22.—The news of the week was the dramatic arrest last Monday of 17 men, alleged leaders of the "Christian Front," and the seizure by the FBI of a quantity of firearms and ammunition, together with material for making bombs, including 18 cans of cordite powder. The men are held on $50,000 bonds each. Their records show that only eight were born in this country. Some of the men were members of the national guard and naval reserves. Three were born in Ireland and are thought to have possible connection with the Irish terrorists, while three others were born in Germany and had connections with the Bund. Ten of the 17 "plotters" lived in Brooklyn.

A group of clergymen and laymen signed a telegram addressed to the attorney general and J. Edgar Hoover in Washington which called for further investigation of higher-ups, linking the whole plan to Father Coughlin, and stating that documentary evidence of this connection was available. The telegram read in part: "We are convinced that the 17 members of the Christian Front under arrest charged with seditious conspiracy could not have undertaken their fantastic program without financial and moral support and other assistance from higher up. We respectfully suggest that you order a careful check along this line of inquiry and order prompt investigation of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin's connection with this so-called Christian Front and its leader, John F. Cassidy, one of the 17 under arrest." The telegram was signed by John Haynes Holmes, Guy Emery Shipler, A. Clayton Powell, Prof. Frank Boaz and five other city university professors, and the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The secretary of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation, the organization which only two months ago distributed resolutions denouncing the Christian Front and allied groups, issued a statement which called for "clear thinking and moderation under the heightened excitement of the exposure" and warned that "it should not be a signal for attacks on other groups or for legislation which would curb our civil liberties and which might eventually make slaves of us all."

* * *

Catholics Discuss Negro Problem

A frank discussion among Catholic priests and laymen on what was termed the "insufficient" extent of Catholic efforts in this country to minister to Negroes marked an all-day celebration last Sunday on the fifth anniversary of the Catholic Interracial Council. The council, a group of white and Negro priests and laymen, was organized to sponsor increased Catholic work among the Negroes and to promote better race relations. Rev. William J. Walsh, pastor of the Church of St. Ignatius, Philadelphia, a parish for Negroes, said that Negroes often had trouble getting into Catholic schools. He pointed out that fewer than 100 of the 850 Catholic colleges and academies in the country accepted Negroes, but called it a hopeful sign that most of the 100 had opened their doors to Negroes during the last six or seven years.

* * *

Unique Institute Program in Methodist Church

"Understanding Ourselves in Our Times" is the subject of a series of seven lectures arranged for Wednesday evenings at the midwinter institute at St. Mark's Methodist Church, Brooklyn, of which Ralph Emerson Davis is pastor. The list of subjects and speakers includes "Whither Civilization" by Harry Elmer Barnes, "The American Churches and the World Crisis" by Walter Van Kirk, "The United States and Europe" by Sherwood Eddy, "The Alternative to Chaos" by George A. Buttrick, "A Personal Philosophy for These Times" by Harry A. Overstreet, and "The Spiritual Life" by Muriel Lester.

* * *

N. Y. U. Girl Wins Essay Contest

Miss Helen Vogel of Bayonne, N. J., New York University senior, was awarded the first prize of $50 last Thursday night in an essay contest on the "Relationship between Religion and Democracy," in which students from 20 colleges in the Greater New York area took part. The contest was conducted by the New York Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The award was made at a meeting of the men's club of the Congregation Emanu-El, Manhattan.

* * *

John Haynes Holmes Confesses

John Haynes Holmes "confessed" in his Sunday sermon that he had been deceived by soviet Russia. "If we liberals were right on certain single aspects of the Russian revolution, we were wrong, disgracefully wrong, on the question as a whole," he said. "We were wrong because, in our enthusiasm over Russia's liberation from the tsar, our hope for the further liberation of the Russian people from economic as well as political serfdom and our vision of a new world springing from the womb of this Russian experiment, we permitted ourselves to condone wrongs that we knew to be wrongs. We consented to violations of principle that we knew to be fatal to the moral integrity of mankind. . . . Then came the anti-aggression pact with Hitler and the invasion of Finland—and I was through! A new Ivan the Terrible had appeared. . . . Above all, it is the prime business of men to be true to themselves, to be faithful to the best and highest ideals, to safeguard the moral law, and to serve no cause at the expense of liberty."

* * *

Fire Damages Churches And Y.M.C.A.

Undoubtedly because of heavy furnace fires during the extremely cold weather three churches and a Y.M.C.A. building burned on Sunday. In the Memorial Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, the gymnasium was destroyed and the religious education plant severely damaged. Children were in

Sunday classes at 10 a.m. when the fire was discovered by the pastor, Rev. Ralph W. Lankler. All children were rushed to safety and gathered in the Grace Methodist Church across the way. The Ridgewood Methodist Church was also burned. Here the classes and congregation were led by the pastor, Rev. Godfrey Graeflin, to St. Mark's Evangelical Reformed Church where the two congregations worshiped together. The Methodist Church of Hempstead, built in 1854, suffered $5,000 damage due to an overheated flue. The fire was controlled before any great loss was sustained. The Elmer A. Sperry Memorial Y.M.C.A., Flatbush, which is housed in an 103-year-old colonial residence, was almost completely destroyed Sunday. The fire was shooting through the roof before the firemen arrived. The building, valued at $100,000, was almost a complete loss. The Y.M.C.A. had occupied the building for three years.

* * *

And So Forth

Two new Lutheran churches were dedicated last week in Queens: the Prince of Peace Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Albans, Rev. C. Leighton King, pastor, and the Missouri Lutheran Church of the Resurrection, Flushing, Rev. Howard L. Halter, pastor.

A series of public lectures on self-help projects were opened last Sunday evening at All Saints Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, under the auspices of a Christian forum on social-economic planning. The lectures will be continued Sunday nights each week in the undercroft, the rector, Rev. Wilburn C. Campbell, announced. The first lecture was given by Dr. James C. Drury of New York University on "Cooperatives, One Way Out of the Depression." The other five lectures will be given by prominent leaders on related subjects.

Rev. John Paul Jones, Union Church of Bay Ridge, and Dr. Henry Neumann, leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, exchanged pulpits Sunday. Dr. Jones spoke before the Ethical Culture Society on "American in Wartime." Dr. Neumann preached to the Presbyterian congregation on "Building the Spiritual World of Tomorrow."

Rev. Luther D. Gable, pastor of St. Stephen's Lutheran Church, Brooklyn, since its organization by him in 1898, passed away last Monday at the age of 74. This was his only pastorate. On the Friday before he died he had completed the last chapter of his book of reminiscence, *Vignettes of a Long Pastorate,* which he wrote entirely in long hand.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Peace Organizations Urge Continuous Mediation

The National Peace Conference, which includes most American peace societies, has called on President Roosevelt to initiate "immediate and continuing mediation" in the European war. The resolution urged the President to join "with the pope, with the governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and other neutrals," and "especially suggests an immediate request to the belligerents that they state once more their peace terms." No sign has come from the White House as to whether the President is inclined to adopt such a policy.

Primate Seeks Reprisal Limit

Free Press Demanded by Spender—The Pope as a Politician—Fresh Classes Register for National Service

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Jan. 4.—Herr Hitler is reported to have said that "the most unlikely thing is the surest." So far in the war the unlikely thing has often surprised us, and our publicists speak with caution. Their note is chiefly one of sober confidence. Comparisons are made with the Christmas of 1914, and these give encouragement, though there is no trace of cocksureness. The primate in his address on Sunday night was insistent that the ideals with which we went to war should not be lost in peace. He declared also that there must be limits to reprisals "below which, at whatever cost, honor will forbid us to fall." Lord Snell, the Labor leader in the House of Lords, spoke most movingly upon the British commonwealth. He was not blind to what remains to be done but he regarded the commonwealth as an example of the free association of free peoples, and declared that there are no fugitives from it. At the same time he said that his party and his fellow countrymen as a whole would not be content to recover things as they were before the war.

* * *

Spender Demands Free Press

We have certainly no lack of candid counselors. Mr. Spender has spoken with his unsurpassed authority upon the need of a free press which can criticize the government and provide for it "a mirror of opinion that enables it to dispense with the spying, informing and persecution by secret police that cursed the countries in which the free press was extinguished." At the same time he recognized that a free press is rightly expected to impose discipline on itself and in time of war must accept a military censorship in respect of news. Among all such counsels and forecasts as come suitably at this time it is frankly admitted that there are unknown quantities, and I do not find anyone at all sure what the soviet policy involves. For us, meanwhile, there is the demand to spare no expense of energy to make ready for whatever may come. It is not the time to relax the strain of military preparing; but thinking must go on.

* * *

The Churches in The War

It would be a grateful task to enumerate what is being done by the churches in the war zones. The Friends have their unit for Finland to carry medical relief. The Y. M. C. A. and the Salvation Army are very busy in providing comforts, spiritual and otherwise, for the soldiers; ambulances and canteens are to be prepared. But apart from such services there is reason to suppose that the churches are not unawakened to the part they should play in the making of peace and in the building of the new order in Europe.

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At the Better Bookshops

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The action of President Roosevelt in writing to the pope and in the appointment of his "personal representative" at the Vatican has been seriously taken, especially as his letter must have been on its way when the pope was addressing the college of cardinals in language at once critical and constructive. It is not overlooked also that the pope has visited the King of Italy. It is impossible to ignore the fact that there are political movements which are associated with such allocutions and diplomatic steps taken by his holiness. And speculations are rife upon the inner political significance of the condemnation of "premeditated aggression against a small and laborious people," and of acts which "call for vengeance from heaven." Does this point to an alignment of nations to withstand the advance, if such it is, of Russia?

* * *

Notes from a Nation In Wartime

There is no disposition here to be intimidated by German hints that we must not help Finland. I have never known this country more united than it is in its admiration for the Finns.

If we had not "supped on horrors" so largely we might have been even more appalled by the fate of the Turkish villages. If a catastrophe like this had happened in history, we should have put it with the destruction of Pompeii and the earthquake of Lisbon. It has been impossible to picture imaginatively what it means; but whatever is done to carry relief will be done with the entire and heartfelt support of our people.

Fresh "classes" are to register for national service. On the roll will be all from 19 to 28 years of age. They will not be called up at once, but it is expected that by the end of 1940 there will be at least 2,000,000 in the forces, and the number will steadily grow. Already Canadian, Australian and Indian troops are in this country, in spite of the fact that, according to the German propaganda, we have lost command of the sea!

* * *

And So Forth

There is a camp of German prisoners, mainly merchant seamen, somewhere in Britain. The chaplain has established friendly relations with many of them, and every Sunday he holds a service for them in German. The attendance, which is voluntary, is rarely less than 300. The singing is led by an orchestra formed by the prisoners themselves.

The British and Foreign Bible Society now publishes the Bible in 732 languages, of which 94 are spoken in Europe and 49 in America. In 1804, when this society began its work, the Bible had been translated into only 72 languages. There has been an astonishing increase in Bible reading in Germany since 1934. The Berlin paper, *Die Fürche,* reports that the demand for the Bible among German Protestants has increased in the proportion of 50 per cent to 70 per cent, and there has been a similar movement, it is said, among Catholics in Germany.

Sir Frank Benson died last week. No one in our time has done so much as he to rescue Shakespeare from the classroom and from purely literary circles and make him the delight and comfort of the average man. For 30 years he directed the Shakespeare Festival at Stratford-on-Avon; but it was as the splendidly gifted and enthusiastic head of a traveling company that we remember him best.

Twenty-five years ago Dr. Albert Schweitzer was technically an "alien enemy" working in French Equatorial Africa. Though still an Alsatian he is now a French subject and he with his Swiss, Hungarian and Dutch helpers is carrying on his work. But the war does not leave him untouched; it is difficult to get medical supplies and the French mobilization is very thoroughgoing.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Racial Segregation Deplored By Episcopalians

The joint commission on Negro work of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church has adopted a resolution opposing the proposal by 15 bishops of the southeast for a racial bishopric to administer all Negro Episcopal congregations. Bishop Edwin A. Penick of North Carolina said the proposal was opposed not only because of its impracticability, but also because "from our point of view a line of separation between the races is undesirable. We believe in one church for all races."

F.O.R. Reports Record Membership Gain

The American branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, pacifist organization, reports that it gained 1,888 new members during 1939. This constituted a record gain for one year and brings the total membership of the F.O.R. in this country to more than 10,000.

Catholic Peace Body Supports Hull Trade Pacts

The Catholic Association for International Peace has sent a warning to all its members of the impending attack in Congress on renewal of the powers of Secretary Hull to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements. "This is a matter of grave concern," says the association, "to all who are genuinely interested in an ordered system of international trade, a system that will make permanently for a stable and peaceful world."

Finnish Archbishop Appeals For World Help

The Archbishop of Finland, a Lutheran, has issued a call for help to the Christian world which contains these words: "When we defend ourselves against the aggressor we are also fighting against the adversary of Christ. We feel that we are the outpost of Christianity and Western civilization in the north. We are confident that the Christian churches will not leave us alone. God help us in his grace."

World Alliance Protests Armament Increases

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, in company with the Church Peace Union, has sent a protest to Congress against the increases in military and naval appropriations recommended by President Roosevelt. The protest points out that the askings of more than $2,000,000,000 is half a billion above the entire cost of the government in 1916-17 and more than trebles military and naval expenditures of only seven years ago.

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Japan Losing, Says T. Z. Koo

Noted Leader Begins Tour for China Relief—Portland Hears Interfaith Speakers—Emigrés Given Welcome

(Correspondence from Oregon)

PORTLAND, Jan. 22.—Returning from China on the Clipper and beginning an American tour in the interests of China relief, Dr. T. Z. Koo addressed Portland audiences last week with an optimistic message concerning the situation in the Far East. Dr. Koo declares that a million trained men are in reserve for China's "big push," awaiting only more mechanized equipment, while Japanese forces are losing strength and nearing the end of their resources. He expects Chinese soil to be free of the invaders within a year or 18 months, with Japan's "military caste" sufficiently discredited to permit civilian political parties to "put the government on a constitutional basis." He reports almost no wartime hatred among either Chinese or Japanese civilians, it being recognized that the Japanese populace is "in the grip of the military caste." Augmenting Dr. Koo's mass meeting appeal in behalf of the 15,000,000 Chinese refugees, a member of the local China relief committee appeared on the platform with two little American-born Chinese children, asking for the "adoption" of such little ones in China at a cost of three cents each per day. The response was amazingly liberal, the offering averaging more than one dollar per person present.

* * *

Community Chest Appeal Successful

Portland went over the top in its annual community chest appeal with $507,062 subscribed for the support of the 44 agencies. The largest beneficiaries are the Y. M. C. A., Federated Jewish Societies and Catholic charities. Chest officials regard the program of agency visitation as a great factor in the success of the campaign. Various institutions reported visits from chest constituents to the number of 28,000. The visitation plan is being vigorously pushed, in the belief that if citizens see for themselves the splendid work of the agencies, their dollars will inevitably follow.

* * *

Interfaith Trio Inspires Portland Audiences

Addressing large and enthusiastic audiences, a trio of speakers representing the National Conference of Christians and Jews has recently visited Portland. The group consisted of Dr. Rolland W. Schloerb, co-pastor of Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago, Father Vincent C. Donovan, national director of the Catholic Thought Association and Rabbi Charles E. Shulman of North Shore Congregation Israel, of Chicago. An interfaith dinner, a public mass meeting, college assemblies and Sunday appearances in prominent city pulpits provided a busy week end for the visitors and a rewarding experience for the thousands who heard the messages of tolerance and

'The basis of democracy is not economic or educational; these are secondary. The basis of democracy is moral, for only men who trust one another and demand for others the same rights that they demand for themselves are capable of acting responsibly.' *(Pulpit Digest)*

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good will. Mr. E. C. Sammons, one of the city's leading industrialists, is the dynamic chairman of the Oregon Interfaith Council and David Robinson, beloved Jewish civic leader, is the secretary.

* * *

Bishop Straughn Is Ad Interim Methodist Superintendent

Bishop James H. Straughn of Baltimore, Md., has arrived in Oregon to serve as ad interim general superintendent of the Methodist Church. His appointment continues until June 18 when the western area will select a permanent leader. The district includes Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Alaska. The vacancy occurred through the sudden death of Bishop Wallace E. Brown on Nov. 18. Bishop Straughn is one of the two ministers elevated to the episcopacy by the Methodist Protestant Church just prior to the merger last May. He was left without regular appointment until next June and was thus available to meet the Oregon emergency.

* * *

Christian Welcome Given Emigrés

A delightful occasion and a gesture of Christian good will was a recent tea in First Congregational Church, Portland, with emigrés guests of honor. Approximately 100 families are living in this vicinity and 100 more are expected this spring. Present at the tea were refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. In the local colony are people who were once prominent in the life of the Old World. Commenting upon the reception given the newcomers, one emigré, formerly a distinguished German scientist, said: "I felt actually surrounded by the spirit of good will and brotherhood . . . the atmosphere which I have been striving for all my life." The tea was one of several functions planned by religious groups to extend fellowship to the emigrés and to forestall possible prejudice and intolerance.

* * *

And So Forth

Portland is one of the 21 cities chosen for the National Christian Mission. Dr. Jesse M. Bader, of the department of evangelism of the Federal Council of Churches, visited Portland last week for an initial meeting of the planning committee of 100 and challenged the group, in preparation for the mission to be held early next year, to "think in terms of possibilities rather than of limitations."

The annual State Pastors' Conference brings to Portland this week several hundred Oregon ministers. The conference theme is "Forward With God." Headliners are Dr. Frederick W. Norwood of St. Andrews-Wesley United Church, Vancouver, B. C., Dr. Charles J. Boss, Jr., of the Methodist Peace Commission and Dr. Jesse M. Bader of the Federal Council.

Under sponsorship of the council of churches, the original Luenen Passion Play, now of the Black Hills, S. D., will be presented four days in the Portland municipal auditorium. Josef Meier will portray the Christus; 100 local people and a combined chorus of church choirs will augment the company cast. Cities of the northwest are greeting the Passion Play with capacity audiences. In Portland public schools will be dismissed to enable children to attend the matinees.

Oregon's oldest churchman and one of its most colorful personalities, George H. Himes, recently passed away at the age of 96. He was the final survivor of the wagon train of 1853; as a lad of nine he accompanied his family across the plains on that immortal trek to the Oregon country. He rendered distinguished service as the organizer and curator of the Oregon Historical Society and for 76 years was actively identified with the church life of Portland.

RAYMOND B. WALKER.

Baptists Issue Statement on Interview with President

Because of statements in the press that, as a result of a visit by Baptist representatives to the White House concerning the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican, "a misunderstanding had existed which had been entirely cleared up," the public relations committees of the three Baptist conventions has issued a formal statement as to what happened. "The representatives of the three Baptist bodies—Northern, Southern and National Baptist Conventions—wish emphatically to state that no misunderstanding existed," says this statement. "We appreciated fully what had been done and our fears lest a permanent ambassadorial relationship with the Vatican might be established were allayed only by the statement of the President that he had no such purpose in mind. All three groups (Baptist, Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist) declared that the absolute separation of church and state was a principle which they were ready to defend to the utmost degree."

Returning to China Mission Field

Dr. Everett S. Burket, who has been serving as acting field secretary for the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society on the Pacific coast and in the Rocky Mountain area, is sailing for Shanghai next week to resume his missionary service in south China.

Lutheran Novena In Buffalo

The First Redeemer Lutheran Church, Buffalo, N. Y., has adopted a novena program similar to that successfully conducted in the Irving Park Lutheran Church, Chicago.

Federal Council and Missions Body United to Study War Problems

The special conference on the international situation which the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference have called to meet in Philadelphia, Feb. 27-29, will be primarily a study conference. Six seminars will consider various aspects of the problem presented to the churches by the war, and will draw up recommendations to be sent back to the denominations.

Pacifist Churches Consult with President on C.O.'s

Representatives of the Society of Friends, the Church of the Brethren and the Mennonite Church recently interviewed the President, asking that in case of war arrangements might be made whereby conscientious objectors belonging to those communions might be granted the privilege of rendering alternative service. The delegation was headed by Dr. Rufus Jones. After meeting the President, who assured the delegation that he fully understood and honored its position, it consulted with Attorney General Murphy and his designated successor, Robert H. Jackson.

New Secretary for Lutheran Social Missions

Dr. C. Franklin Koch has resigned the pastorate of St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Ind., to become executive secretary of the Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church.

Vatican Lists Taylor As Ambassador

The Vatican has released the pontifical directory for 1940, listing 38 ambassadors and ministers accredited to the Holy See. The name of Myron C. Taylor appears at the foot of the list, and is separated from the others by a dash. The directory reads: "United States of America: His excellency, Myron C. Taylor, representative of his excellency, the President of the United States of America, with the rank of ambassador."

Bishop Holt Made Chairman of Life and Work Council

Bishop Ivan Lee Holt of the Methodist Church has been elected to succeed Dr. William Adams Brown as chairman of the American section of the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work. Dr. Brown has become chairman of the committee which is preparing for the cooperation of American churches in the new World Council of Churches, with Bishop Holt as vice-chairman.

New Spanish Law Acknowledges Clerical Aid in War

The Franco government in Spain has enacted a law placing the budget of the church and support of the clergy back on the basis of 1931, with the addition of 1,000,000 pesetas for seminaries and libraries. The preamble to the new law says: "The Spanish state, aware that its unity and greatness is based on the pillars of the Catholic faith, supreme inspiration of its imperial enterprises, and desirous of showing once more a practical way its filial adhesion to the church and also at the same time to repair the iniquitous exspoliation of its patrimony by the liberal governments, and erase that sacrilegious plunder which one of our most noted writers terms 'an immense systematic robbery,' proposes through this law to render due tribute to the self-sacrificing Spanish clergy, most efficient cooperators in our victorious crusade."

Wisconsin Court Holds Bingo Illegal

Wisconsin's supreme court has ruled that holding bingo games, even for charitable or church purposes, is illegal. Local authorities, however, indicate that they do not mean to change their present policies on enforcing the law.

Copies of January 3 Issue Wanted

An unexpected demand has exhausted supplies of the issue of The Christian Century for Jan. 3. Readers who can supply copies of that issue would confer a favor by sending them to the business office, 440 South Dearborn St., Chicago.

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